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ABSTRACT

The Multi-Ethnic School Environments Study evolved in response to the need for a research base for identifying teacher training needs in newly desegregated school districts. The ultimate goal of this five year project is to generate teacher training processes and materials to aid teachers in coping with the realities of desegregation. The first phase (1978-1979) was a year of ethnographic research which examined teachers' efforts to organize their classrooms and to encourage the integration of students in newly desegregated classes. This volume of the research report presents analyses of data derived from a series of classroom observations. Analysts examined four themes related to schooling in desegregated settings: (1) the socioemotional development of students, (2) teacher decision making in instructional organization, (3) student socialization and preparation for future work roles and, (4) administrative practices and policies that have an impact upon school integration. Each of the four analyses includes a description of the analysis design, discussion of the classroom case study data, comparative conclusions and recommendations or implications.
(Author/MK)

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Multi- Ethnic School Environments

Final Report FY 1978-79

VOLUME III: DATA ANALYSTS' REPORTS

Leonard C. Beckum
Stefan J. Dasho

Report 1: Joanne Rand Whitmore and Colet Hopkins
Report 2: Christopher M. Clark and James Brady
Report 3: Gene N. Levine
Report 4: Charles D. Moody and Kathryn M. Hughes

Report MESE-79-1c

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
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MULTI-ETHNIC SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS PROJECT

Final Report FY 1978-79

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VOLUME III: DATA ANALYSTS' REPORT

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PREFACE

The Multi-Ethnic School Environments (MESE) Project was funded by the National Institute of Education to generate and implement training procedures that could help teachers cope with newly desegregated classrooms. During the Project's first phase (1978-1979), a descriptive study of teaching in newly desegregated schools was conducted. The four data analysts' reports contained in this volume are part of the Project's final report for 1979. The final report consists of three volumes:

Volume I - Overview and Research Design

Volume II - Classroom Case Studies

Volume III - Data Analysts' Reports

The reports in this volume contain the work of four independent analysis consultants (or consultant teams) who examined the raw data from the Project to generate comparative case studies of the classrooms and to draw implications for teacher training in newly desegregated schools. Conclusions synthesizing the findings and recommendations from the case studies and the data analysts' reports will be presented in a fourth document.

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME III

How does desegregation affect the teacher's success in organizing a social order that can promote learning, encourage social integration, and avoid trouble? With this question in mind, the MESE Project examined the day-to-day drama in four fifth or sixth grade classrooms during the first months of voluntary school desegregation in the Valley City School District (a pseudonym, as are the names of the four schools and teachers focused on in this volume).

Two general premises directed this naturalistic field study; first, the classroom was conceived to be a social system that teachers modify in order to accommodate their perceived needs (both personal and institutional) and goals (both personal and pedagogical); second, it was assumed that the process of classroom desegregation complicates the process of socializing pupils. Teachers must accommodate the needs of students who differ in attitudes, behavior, and academic skills. Therefore, knowledge of the practices of skillful teachers, and the problems encountered by all teachers is of critical importance to inservice trainers charged with the goal of improving the quality of education in multiethnic environments.

During 25 continuous days of all-day observation, skilled ethnographic observers created narrative chronicles of classroom interactions and immersed themselves in school life--on the playground and in the teacher's lounge, as well as in the classroom. They interviewed and chatted with teachers, aides, parents, students, janitors and administrators. In addition, the teachers who were observed contributed daily audiotaped reports of their planned activities, observations of their students, and feelings about their classes.

A multidisciplinary analysis strategy was devised so that an in-depth assessment of the conditions in these classroom settings could be drawn. Multiple perspectives on the classrooms were explored by a consultant or pair of consultants. Each examined one of four themes related to schooling. These perspectives are described below.

Drs. Joanne Whitmore and Colet Hopkins investigated the socioemotional development of students. This analysis examined the extent to which the teachers facilitated the development of positive student self concept and social skills, as well as group self image, through the use of constructive group dynamics.

Dr. Whitmore serves as Director of Programs for Educators of Children and as Associate Professor of Psychology and Education at the George Peabody College for Teachers (Vanderbilt University). Dr. Hopkins, at the time of the study, was preparing her dissertation in educational psychology, and has additional background in anthropology. Dr. Whitmore's area of specialization is the application of social psychology to the analysis of the effects of classroom environment and teacher behavior upon pupils' attitudes and behavior.

Dr. Christopher Clark and Mr. James Brady investigated teacher decision making in instructional organization. This analysis addressed the ways teachers' plans for organizing instructional activities and classroom management procedures affected the quality of the learning environment.

Dr. Clark is Assistant Professor of Educational Psychology, Michigan State University, and Senior Researcher at the Institute for Research on Teaching. Dr. Clark's work has included the development of teacher training models, focusing particularly on teachers' instructional practices and decision-making processes. Mr. Brady is an instructor in the Department of Education at California State University, Los Angeles, and a doctoral student in anthropology at the University of Texas.

Dr. Gene Levine undertook a study of the social structure of the classrooms. This analysis explored ways the teachers socialized their students and prepared them for future work roles. Dr. Levine, whose research has focused on minority communities and interethnic relations, is Professor of Sociology at UCLA and Visiting Professor of Contemporary Jewish Life at the University of Judaism.

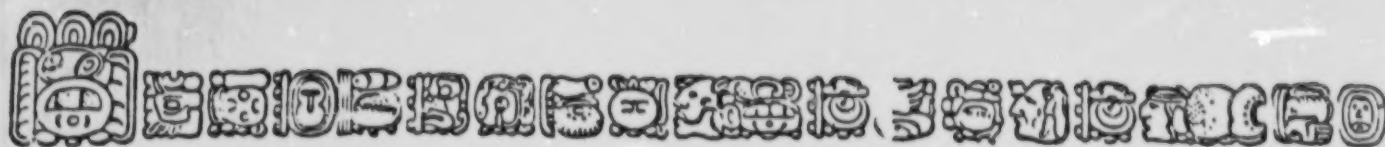
Dr. Charles Moody, Sr. analyzed administrative practices and policies that impact upon the goals of school integration. This investigation examined the equity of the desegregation plan, site administrators' leadership roles, and teaching practices related to cultural pluralism. Dr. Moody is the Director of the Program for Educational Opportunity, The Race Desegregation Assistance Center for the U.S. Office of Education, Region VII, and is Associate Professor of Education at the University of Michigan. Dr. Moody generated impressionistic assessments of the classrooms in support of his analysis of district and building level administrative policies related to desegregation. Kathryn Hughes, a consultant with the MESE study, expanded Dr. Moody's assessments of the classrooms into case study format.

While differing in their analysis methods, orientations and presentation styles, all of the analysts focused on the following objectives:

- To document the ways teachers accommodate their instructional systems to meet the needs of desegregation
- To describe problems identified by teachers as unique to the desegregated classroom
- To describe how differences in school characteristics create differences in the socialization processes students undergo in adjusting to these schools

- To evaluate the contention that teaching skills required in the desegregated setting are demonstrably different from those required in the conventional classroom setting
- To describe inservice training needs specific to the four classrooms
- To make general recommendations for teacher training needs in desegregated settings
- To propose areas needing closer examination in future research

The process by which analysis designs were generated and reviewed is discussed in Volume I of this final report. Each of the analysts is solely responsible for the opinions expressed in his/her reports. No attempt was made to forge consensus or resolve disagreements among them, since diversity of opinion was viewed as an acceptable outcome of the reports. Findings and implications from both these reports and the case studies generated by the research staff (Volume II of this final report) will be synthesized in later documents of the Project, which will summarize the exploratory phase of the research. These findings will provide direction for later phases of the Project, the eventual goal of which is to generate training processes that can address teacher training needs in newly desegregated or multiethnic schools.



Multi- Ethnic School Environments

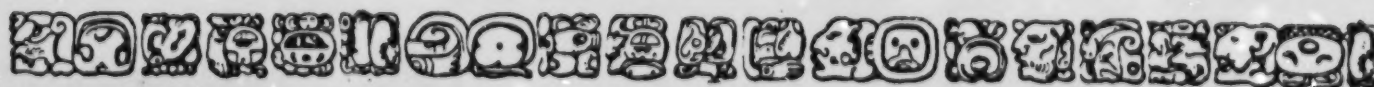
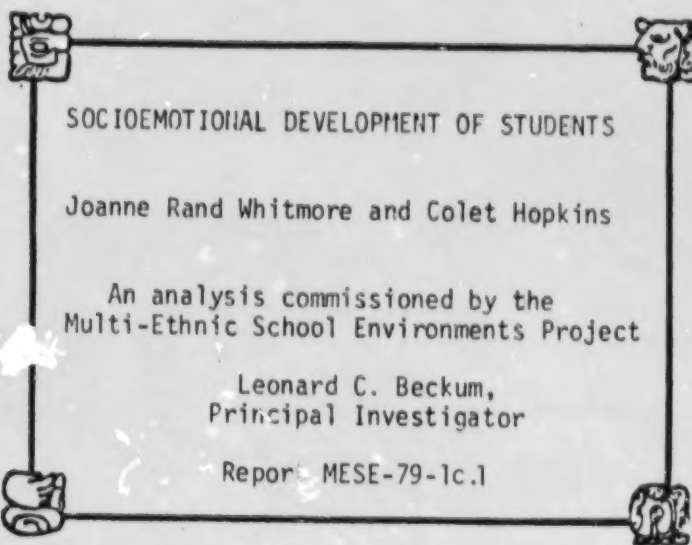


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PART I: ANALYSIS DESIGN

Based on the goals and objectives of the Far West Laboratory's Multi-Ethnic School Environments (MESE) Project as outlined in the project description provided to the data analysts, a working hypothesis was adopted and a strategy of data analysis was developed. It is the purpose of this section of the report to discuss the methodology selected. The discussion will include the focus, strategies, implementation, and limitations of the analysis.

Focus. The primary focus of the data analysis strategy was the examination of the data for evidence of three categories of attitude and behavior:

(a) behavior affecting the development of individual self concepts; (b) behavior contributing to the development of a group self image; and (c) behavior which systematically contributed to the development of social awareness, understanding, and skills. Based on educational psychology theories and the extensive professional experiences of the data analysts, the following working hypothesis was adopted to guide this analysis:

Effective classroom teachers intentionally plan for the socioemotional development of students; i.e., they plan classroom experiences to develop (a) student social awareness and skills, (b) individual and group self management, (c) responsible citizenship and leadership, and (d) positive self images based on feelings of worth.

Although many specific behaviors could be identified as indicators of the three categories cited above, key teacher behaviors anticipated in this design pertained to encouragement of student self direction, communication of approval and acceptance, provision of rewards, encouragement of responsible social behavior, practice of active communication, and engagement of students in problem solving and decision making. Specifically, the following questions guided the development of the analysis strategy:

1. To what extent do the four teachers of the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project consistently exhibit behaviors in the target categories?

2. Are these categories of behavior emphasized in the expressed philosophies of the selected teachers?

3. Are there significant discrepancies between the expressed philosophies and anticipated goals of the teachers and the teachers' actual behavior?

4. May differential patterns of teacher behavior account for differences in classroom climate and patterns of student behavior, which in turn affect the social and emotional development of students in the classrooms?

Strategy for implementation. A strategy for identifying and coding target behaviors was developed. Definitions of the categories of teacher and student behavior and a coding sheet for recording the frequency of specific types of teacher and student behaviors were also developed (see Appendices A and B).

The target teacher behaviors were divided into both positive and negative behaviors, which could be directed either toward an individual student or a group of students. The following 13 positive teacher behaviors were defined:*

(a) sanctioning the uniqueness or differentness of a child or the group through affirmation, affiliation or affection; (b) rewarding student behavior through praise or reinforcement; (c) asking questions or providing curriculum to stimulate student self expression or the elaboration of ideas; (d) providing opportunities for students to make choices and decisions; (e) encouraging cooperation or sharing among students; (f) encouraging and providing opportunities for students to demonstrate self direction and leadership capabilities; (g) encouraging or accepting student initiation; (h) soliciting or accepting student self evaluation; (i) listening, conveying respect, revealing humanness to demonstrate teacher equality; (j) engaging the students in rewarding problem solving activity; (k) providing a sense of success through curriculum and instruction while developing a pride in ability; (l) using positive, constructive management techniques

* Underlined words were key ideas for the coding scheme.

to discipline, to correct behavior, or to improve work habits; and (m) instructing in appropriate social behavior while conveying values and standards.

Seven negative teacher behaviors were defined, to include: (a) rejecting individuality, cultural differences, or group worth; (b) criticizing or possibly creating a sense of shame, lack of worth, embarrassment; (c) exerting rigid teacher control over decisions, choices, management, evaluation; (d) rejecting or discouraging student initiation; (e) rejecting, ignoring, or terminating premature student self expression; (f) fostering competition among peers; and (g) punishing or scolding harshly, probably causing public humiliation or negative feelings about self or school.

In order to assess the quality of social interaction and the possible relationship between teacher and student behaviors in the classrooms, 14 individual or group social behaviors were defined for coding: (a) cooperating, sharing, acts of friendship, or conflict-free play and work; (b) dividing the group by competitive behavior to lessen cohesion; (c) producing conflict that is counterproductive, divisive, disruptive--e.g., "put-downs," fighting, or other hostile interactions with peers; (d) developing social problem-solving skills through conflict resolution; (e) accepting others' ideas, accomplishments; (f) demonstrating inclusive, invitational behavior; (g) demonstrating exclusive, alienating behavior--e.g., rejecting the ideas, contributions, or behavior of others; (h) evidencing student leadership; (i) carrying out responsibility or work independently; (j) challenging authority with acts of defiance or rebellion, including hostile argument with the teacher; (k) evidencing or contributing to group cohesion; (l) expressing negative attitudes, belligerence, lack of motivation to do task, or giving rude retorts; (m) expressing enthusiasm or very positive attitudes; (n) evidencing a sense of failure by students quitting a task or refusing to participate in an activity.

The following example of teacher behavior might be coded, using the categories defined above, as a constructive management technique to correct group behavior (POS):

The entire class appears to be in an unpleasant mood.
The teacher asks the students to listen when she talks
and she says in a gentle but raised voice, "Maybe it's
my problem but I would like you to listen when I talk."

By this act, the teacher asserted control over the group while not causing public humiliation or negative feelings. A contrasting example is:

You don't do any work when you come here; you're both
lazy and you had better start proving that you're not.

The data analyst coded this latter example of teacher behavior as criticism (CR) directed toward an individual student, possibly creating a sense of shame, lack of worth, or embarrassment.

The methodology employed proved effective as it accurately revealed the individual teacher's patterned frequency of exhibiting specific categories of target behavior and suggested the effects of these behavior patterns on the socio-emotional climate of the classroom. Through the system of analysis utilized, the data analysts were able to quantify the use of negative and/or positive teacher behavior, hypothesize relationships between high and low frequencies of certain behaviors, and chart the development of distinctive patterns of student behavior.

Patterns of student and teacher behavior became evident in data analysis, with isolated classroom events showing little or no impact on the basic relationship between the teachers and the students or on the overall classroom climate and operation. Consistent and effective teacher use of positive behaviors tended to yield high frequencies of positive, inclusive student social behavior/peer interaction. Frequent use of negative teacher behaviors and inconsistent use of positive behaviors tended to yield more inconsistent and negative antisocial student behavior and peer interaction. Comparisons across teachers regarding

classroom climate and teacher behavior were based on total frequencies of target behaviors within the positive and negative categories for both students and teachers.

The critical attitudes and behaviors targeted in this study were expected to be manifested in relation to four teacher tasks or areas of competence: classroom management, implementation of the curriculum, teaching and planning for socioemotional development, and establishing a supportive relationship with parents and citizens of the community. Those four areas were the broader structural framework for this analysis.

Implementation. The entire data set provided by the MESE Project staff was included in the analysis. Each of the two data analysts for this study was assigned two paired classrooms for reading, coding, analyzing and summarizing. Instances of the target behaviors were coded, and total frequencies of the categories were calculated. The analysts worked in close proximity and communicated regularly to resolve any uncertainties about the coding of specific behaviors. Initially, it had been planned that each analyst would read all four sets of data. Time constraints and the volume of data did not permit this. After an initial reading of the first two sets of data, some of the categories of target behavior were slightly modified.

The following steps in data analysis were employed:

1. Organization and preparation of the data. All materials were read, including descriptive information relative to student and classroom characteristics. A summary of the significant characteristics of the classroom was then prepared for the section of the case study reports entitled "Setting and Background." Important information was noted to guide the reading and coding of the proactive materials, especially the daily protocols.

2. Reading and coding of the proactive data. Three sets of proactive data were read in the following order for each teacher: (a) the teacher's initial interview, daily tapes, weekly summaries, and exit interview; (b) the ethnographer's summary reports, and (c) the daily and informal classroom protocols. Summaries of the teacher's philosophy and goals, the relationship between the teacher's and ethnographer's perceptions of events, and a discussion of the interpretation of the events were then prepared for inclusion in the case studies. The frequency of target behaviors and significant events, and trends in both teacher and student daily behaviors were noted and discussed by the analysts.

3. Preparation of the final report. Extensive discussions of the teachers, students, classroom climate and interactions were conducted in which the analysts synthesized information from their respective analyses, made comparisons, identified trends, drew conclusions and formulated recommendations. From those discussions, outlines of the final report were prepared. The drafting of sections of the report was divided between the analysts. Drafts of each portion of the report were edited by both analysts.

The steps described above were used to analyze the four classrooms individually. Data from these analyses are presented in Part II of this report as four separate case studies. Similar steps were then taken to analytically compare the four classrooms. The results of this comparative analysis appear in Part III of this report, entitled "Comparisons and Conclusions." Based on these individual and collective processes of analysis, recommendations for pre- and inservice teacher training programs were developed and are included in Part IV.

Limitations. Although extreme care was taken in the analysis of the MESE Project data and in the preparation of this report, the reader is advised to be cautious in generalizing the findings of this study. This sample of four teacher volunteers and their behavior is extremely useful for the exploratory

purposes of Phase I of the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project; however, the representativeness of these findings across teachers, students, time and settings is questionable. Error may have occurred in some instances where the poor quality of transcriptions made the ethnographers' comments unreadable, and therefore uncodable, and in some other instances where it was difficult to distinguish actual events or behaviors from the evaluative and perhaps biased comments of the ethnographers. It is hoped, however, that the findings and recommendations of this report will prove useful in the development of Phase II of the MESE Project.

Several difficulties were noted by the data analysts in attempting to implement the analysis strategy. Perhaps the greatest limitation to the current study was time. The volume and type of data collected warranted a much more thorough treatment than time permitted. For example, limited opportunity was provided for determining the reliability of coding. Secondly, the quality of the data was extremely variable within and across classrooms. A much more effective system of editing the initial interviews and daily protocols would have been of great value to the data analysts. Finally, more extensive training of the ethnographers would have provided the analysts with a more precise record of actual classroom events.

Summary. The data for this report were analyzed from the perspective of educational psychologists. All available data sets were included in the analysis. Through a procedure of reading and coding, trends in targeted teacher and student behaviors were identified and significant events noted. An individual analysis of each of the four classrooms was systematically prepared by an analyst. A collective analysis of the four classrooms was then prepared by the two data analysts in a joint effort. Comparisons, conclusions and recommendations were derived from the individual case studies and the discussions between the analysts.

The results of this analysis were used primarily to develop recommendations to guide the provision of technical assistance to districts and/or teacher pre- and inservice training programs.

PART II: CASE STUDIES

A. CASE STUDY OF MR. WILLIAMS' CLASSROOM

Although included in a study investigating multiethnic school environments, Mr. Williams' school and classroom environment was more comparable to a traditionally segregated school setting. Of the 257 children who attended La Cumbre Elementary at the time of the observation, only 13 were nonblack, with Mr. Williams' classroom being a totally black environment. Both the faculty and staff of La Cumbre reflected the traditional racial models of administrative personnel: of the 12 persons on the faculty, only 2 were black--1 male (Mr. Williams) and 1 female; principal and clerical staff were white; the custodians and cook were black. Only mid-level staff positions (aides) were somewhat racially balanced.

The school is located in a racially mixed, working-class neighborhood. It appears, however, that little or no energy has been directed on a district level towards involving all segments of the school's parent population in the desegregation model. Poor community relations were particularly apparent at a meeting of the parents' association, where only a few black and no Mexican-American parents attended. Comments by Mr. Williams also indicated that faculty and teacher involvement with and commitment to a desegregation model had not been developed. He clearly stated that he believed in busing if a better educational program would be provided, but not to obtain racial quotas or at the whim of the school administration.

Teacher philosophies and goals. Mr. Williams perceived himself to be a "traditional" teacher. He clearly believed that he had something to offer his students and that he had the ability to adapt materials, curriculum, and information to meet their needs. He realistically viewed his students as the traditional "low achievers" and, with this in mind, geared his educational

program toward teaching and reinforcing the basic skills of reading and mathematics. Regretfully, he had little training or experience in teaching reading or individualized instruction, but he nonetheless had been giving it his "best shot."

Although numerous inaudible (ia) comments marked Mr. Williams' initial interview, he randomly but frequently expressed concern about his position relative to the faculty and administration at his school. He seemed to feel that he was perceived without respect by the other teachers and the principal, with whom he said he did not have any relationship. He also seemed to feel that his presence on various committees was not needed,--his representation of the faculty was not appreciated, and his absence from class to attend these meetings hindered his educational program. These concerns were reflected and supported by the ethnographers' comments and evaluation of Mr. Williams. They noted that he seemed to become nervous and anxious when another teacher or the principal came into his room to make an announcement, which was quite frequent.

Mr. Williams stated that he believed in behavior control techniques which require mutual respect, and he seemed willing to try various methods, ranging from loss of recess time, to talking with parents after school or calling them very early in the mornings, to giving students more inclass responsibilities to encourage more responsible behavior. He was well aware that he had both successes and failures in controlling behavior and in developing successful teaching techniques. His behavior, however, indicated a limited repertoire of skills to influence student behavior. The following incident is a typical example of Mr. Williams' behavior:

The teacher walks around the room. Tina, Bruce, Gee Gee, Vinnie, Fred, Minnie, and Ted form a circle. The teacher bangs on the desk with a

paddle at the teacher's desk area where Carl sits idly. The teacher says, "Get your book now." (very harshly) Carl lifts his desk top and fumbles as he peeks over the top to look at the teacher. . . . Noise level is about two plus. The teacher bangs a paddle on the table and noise goes down to zero. The teacher says, "I'm working with this group, so everyone else be quiet."

Mr. Williams consistently exerted forceful control over the students. He combined this tactic with statements that presumably humiliated the students individually and as a group, as shown in these excerpts:

Tom asks if he could go to the bathroom. The teacher says, "Starting right now, you have two minutes." Chuck offers to go with him and the teacher says, "Of all people, you're the last one I'd send with him."

The teacher is seated at the aide's table speaking with Bruce who had been playing with an eraser in his desk. The teacher says, "It's going to be hard enough on you because of your color young man. Let alone being stupid. You are here to help yourself, not anyone else. Now go over there and get busy."

The teacher questions Carl. "Why do you come to school? You could stay at home and watch TV for all you do in here."

Teacher and ethnographer perceptions of events. It was quite difficult to perceive the exact nature of events occurring in Mr. Williams' classroom based on the available information. Reading both sets of reports from the position of a third interpretation, it was hard to determine if the reports of events had been colored by the biases of the ethnographers, whether comments were taken out of context, or whether important details were not noted. In some instances it was quite helpful to have two ethnographers' reports of the same teacher. It occasionally helped to clarify interpretations of events by having more information than one perspective would have offered (particularly instances where the white ethnographer had one perception and the black ethnographer another).

The exit interview portrayed the ethnographers and teacher as being of one mind, basically in agreement regarding what had occurred in the classroom--which

tactics had been successful, and which ones had not been effective. However, the final summaries prepared by the ethnographers portrayed the teacher as contradictory, nontraditional in terms of classroom teaching techniques, but nonetheless operating a very structured program. The teacher perceived this as having been a very good year, while the ethnographers characterized the teacher as "a disciplinarian," a person being more negative than positive in interactions with students.

Frequency of specific behaviors in the classroom. Both the ethnographers and data analysts agreed that Mr. Williams' most frequent behavior was negative sanctioning. He repeatedly attempted to shame or humiliate students into conforming by either calling their names,

Okay, I need everyone's attention as soon as Tina and LeRoy are through. . . . So, I'm ready. Leanna, I need your attention.

or using eye contact to control noise level and movement, as the ethnographer described:

I've noticed the teacher make many eye contacts with students, and even when he scolds them, . . . he does not use their names but merely gives the student the eyeball act.

He regarded as effective his attempts to control students by threatening them with various punishments, some very harsh, or threatening to call their parents. For example, he said to the ethnographer:

On the first day of using the threat of not having recess if assignments were not complete, this pressure produced completed assignments from the majority of students within the allotted time period. Students appeared to be more responsible for their own work.

Mr. Williams' struggle to control is illustrated by this incident:

Chuck says, "I still don't understand!" The teacher hollers, "If you would just read your directions under number three, you would understand." The teacher hollers again, "For example." He reads an example. The teacher hollers again, "I told you not to write

the noun signals." Chuck says, "I don't even know what a noun signal is?" (questioningly) The teacher hollers again, "Chuck, I need you to stay after school today." He continues, "Who else needs special help." Chuck says, "I ain't staying after no school." The teacher hollers, "Come here Chuck." Chuck gets up and goes over to the teacher and pouts. The teacher hollers, "Bring me that paddle. What did I ask you to do?" He repeats this three times and continues, "Bend over." Chuck bends over and the teacher gives him two swats. The teacher keeps the paddle and turns around. "You don't tell me what you ain't gonna do. I'm not a kid in here that you play with."

Chuck was ultimately humiliated for not knowing the answer, and the teacher was frustrated by his inability to get Chuck to conform. Mr. Williams again resorted to force as the controlling medium, combined with punishment and humiliation. These behaviors, in the absence of equally frequent occurrences of positive sanctioning, would cause Mr. Williams to be characterized as extremely negative and overly authoritarian while struggling to gain or maintain control. The result seemed to be a lack of respect for the teacher:

The teacher continues, "Any complaints?" Jack says, "You don't like people." Teacher says, "Chuck said the same thing to his Mom." Teacher says, "No, I don't dislike anyone. It's just that you upset me when you don't try to learn." He goes on, "Okay, Van, are you dissatisfied?" Van says, "Get a smaller paddle also." Teacher says, "You don't like my paddle? Fred says that also." He also says, "I don't like your hollering." The teacher says, "I said try to make me be calm. How do you think I should talk?" Fred says, "Put tape on your lips." Teacher says, "Are there any more complaints?" A lot of hands go up and some students say things like, "Banging paddle on the table, hollering out at students, and don't like students."

The students responded to a lack of equity between the teacher and themselves by challenging his authority:

Teacher in a raised voice says, "Chuck, would you get back to what you were supposed to be doing?" The boy flippantly remarks, "Yes, mastah." (in a drawl) and then he giggles and the other children chuckle around him.

These disciplinary behaviors of Mr. Williams are summarized accurately by Observer #1A (Final Summarizing Task #2: Classroom Socialization):

The teacher used the following styles of sanctioning--negative sanctioning. The first would be (the least stern) calling the student by name and repeating that. Sometimes that was accompanied by a facial expression of sternness, and sometimes by a pointed finger. . . . Some of the threats were that they would have to stay after school; that they would have a loss of recess; that he would write a note to their parents; that he would call their parents; or that he would visit their parents. He took away privileges by placing them in different desks, by isolating them and, occasionally, he used a method of jokingly embarrassing a student. The most severe, going on order of severity, would be to slam a book on the desk or to hit the desk with a paddle, and then the ultimate sanction was to paddle.

In Mr. Williams' classroom, independent and responsible behaviors were not encouraged and were rarely rewarded. It was as if Mr. Williams had no training in positive behavior control techniques and had little knowledge of strategies to develop or enhance positive self concepts. Few instances of student leadership were recorded, probably because the classroom environment did not encourage such behaviors. Occasionally peer tutoring situations were used to support under-achieving students, but only on a one-to-one basis. Few, if any, opportunities were provided for the students to develop or refine group leadership skills.

Mr. Williams was selective and differential in the treatment of students. Both the ethnographers and data analysts noted that some students were perceived by the teacher as worthy of extra effort while others were considered to be "lost causes." Mr. Williams seemed stricter and more severe with his male students and was more apt to ignore behavior of female students that would be punishable if exhibited by male students

Few instances of positive physical contacts between teacher and students or between students were noted. The students could be characterized as (a) basically "friendly aggressive" toward one another, (b) noninitiating in terms of developing constructive academic or social behavior as a group (though

some individual students were more self directed), and (c) responding differentially to the teacher's behavior.

The context of the classroom situation does not permit a discussion of multi-ethnic behaviors exhibited by students. As was mentioned earlier, the only reference to racial considerations were negative statements about being black, which were made by all the students and would definitely be indicative of low self esteem and limited racial pride. The teacher did not use these opportunities to discuss cultural and physical differences between and among various racial groups. The incidents were usually ignored by the teacher, or he changed the subject.

Summary of behavior patterns. As discussed above, Mr. Williams maintained a very structured and negative overall classroom climate, with his most consistent behaviors being in the realm of behavior control. Mr. Williams could be characterized as reactionary in that he was normally in the position of reacting negatively to student behaviors instead of creating or fostering positive student-student or teacher-student relationships. The children had little or no control over the classroom environment or their opportunities to participate.

A discussion of multiethnic concerns as they relate to Mr. Williams seems somewhat inappropriate given his all-black classroom; however, there are some issues which deserve further consideration. Mr. Williams expressed continuous disillusionment with the administration and was obviously against the desegregation plan. He seemed to feel that it had been forced upon the district and that the teachers and community had not been prepared for the shift in emphasis. He also expressed concern as to whether or not the administration and those enforcing the plan really believed in it. The problems Mr. Williams and his students experienced point to the need for community participation, teacher and faculty involvement, and predesegregation strategies to facilitate school desegregation. The low level of community participation, particularly by minority

citizens, seemed to support the opinions expressed by Mr. Williams, while the academic kindergarten concept designed to attract whites to the school seemed only to be adding fuel to an already smoldering fire. Inservice training for teachers and staff persons, as well as fundamental community involvement programs, seemed to be lacking.

B. CASE STUDY OF MS. BAKER'S CLASSROOM

Jefferson Elementary was identified in the district as a Fine Arts Magnet School, intended to attract white students to a predominantly minority (i.e., black, Mexican American) school. There also was an additional sixth grade for high achieving students, called the Vanguard Program. There were about 200 students in the school, which was located in a very low income, "depressing" neighborhood, according to the ethnographer. The school felt little community support and suffered from a high turnover rate. The principal reported that less than 20 percent of the enrollment was comprised of white children, and there were about two black students for every Spanish surnamed child. He noted that there was more conflict within racial groups than between races. The staff was predominantly white and female, with a white male principal. The ethnographer described the school as friendly and relatively relaxed in atmosphere.

Initially, in Ms. Baker's classroom there were 23 blacks, 3 whites, 2 Mexican Americans, and 1 Native American, for a total of 29 sixth graders. (Later these numbers changed as the class became a fifth-sixth grade combination.) Ms. Baker is a white woman who had previously taught in a school which had a high Jewish enrollment. There was one white female aide.

Teacher philosophy and goals. There are two sources of information about the teacher's philosophy: (a) that which is explicitly stated in the teacher interviews and summaries; (b) that which is implicit in the teacher's behavior. Both sources contribute significantly to a general picture of the teacher's approach to education and her goals for students.

Ms. Baker explicitly stated her principal goals to be: (a) getting the children to perform on grade level (which she described as "unrealistic"); (b) helping the students feel better about themselves and each other. These

goals were stated in both the initial and exit interviews, with the teacher reversing the priorities in the exit interview to place social and emotional needs first. Consistently she stressed the development of good study habits as a priority and, in the exit interview, strongly advocated higher parent, teacher, and student expectations for the minority students in her classroom, reflecting on her positive experiences with Jewish children in previous years. Philosophically, she was against bussing because of the consequences for teachers and students, specifically the focusing of too much teacher attention on racial issues and bus schedules. She viewed multicultural education as everyday learning on how to get along with people, and did not regard education on specific cultures as a necessary part of it.

Implicitly, the behavior of Ms. Baker communicated a philosophy which regarded grade-level performance as the measure of success. She indicated that the most important concerns she held for students were not those related to feelings and attitudes but rather those of academic achievement as evaluated by grade-level performance. Although she tried to be positive in her approach, much of her behavior revealed low or negative expectations for students--the opposite of the philosophy she espoused in the initial interview. This negative attitude was often very subtle, as in the following example:

The teacher then puts her hand down on Lynn's desk and says, "When you finish this I want you to do something so that you don't get into trouble."

She verbally communicated concern about social conflict and a lack of study habits, but her classroom behavior suggests that the social conflict was troublesome to her only to the extent that it interfered with productivity on academic tasks.

Ms. Baker reported translating her philosophy and goals into two basic methods: (a) a positive reward system which emphasized success; (b) a "Study Habits Improvement Needed" sheet for names of students who were being warned that continued off-task behavior might lead to a trip to the counselor's or

principal's office. Ms. Baker professed in her initial interview that her approach to discipline included trying to avoid threatening students, and trying to "talk it through almost as equals"--i.e., engaging students in social problem solving. As will be noted later, Ms. Baker displayed consistent patterns of behavior which violated these two philosophical guidelines she had explicitly stated in interviews.

Teacher and ethnographer perceptions of events, Ms. Baker perceived herself as providing a highly individualized program of instruction which produced feelings of success in her students. Those feelings of success she attributed to the development of good study habits which would lead to academic achievement. She perceived herself as being empathetic and flexible, adjusting to individual characteristics and being sensitive to her students' social and emotional needs. She believed that her reward system was effective, providing privileges and candy as rewards for individuals successfully meeting teacher expectations. She perceived herself as being a good friend to students, and indicated that she tried to capitalize on peer leadership and opportunities for leadership to create incentives for appropriate behavior.

From the ethnographer's record of events in the classroom, it may be said that Ms. Baker perceived the classroom to be individualized in terms of academic programming in reading but predominantly group-managed otherwise. There was a significant level of disorganization perceived by the ethnographer, with children frequently running in and out and a general air of chaos developing. The ethnographer also noted frequent social conflict, with a lot of arguing among students. Records of teacher-student interaction suggest a low level of teacher control, although the teacher was constantly struggling to control student behavior and get students more "on task."

Students in Ms. Baker's classroom did not seem to share many feelings of success nor to be highly motivated to participate. A few students seemed to

respond to the teacher in a friendly manner, but generally they did not interact with her as friends. The ethnographer's interpretive comments indicated that students frequently were undermining the teacher's respect and influence in the classroom by making faces, giving defiant retorts, challenging the teacher by refusing to comply, or continuing disruptive behavior after being reprimanded.

Every now and then a student responded to the teacher's disciplinary tactic in a manner to convey to peers that the teacher's behavior was rewarding or that they really found her efforts to control them quite amusing and ineffective.

For example:

The teacher says, "Serina! Shut up!" and then . . . goes to Serina's desk. Serina has looked rather puzzled and says, "What?" The teacher pulls her desk and puts it very near Dennis' desk as well as Burt's desk. Serina is saying, "I didn't do nothing." The other children are beginning to protest. "She just got here. Why are you just telling her to move when she just got here?" The teacher says in a loud voice, "Sit down." And she then goes and works with Michael. Serina sits down and lets her tongue hang out at the teacher with a frown on her face right after the teacher leaves. The teacher then tells Michael, "I'm not here to win a popularity contest."

The positive rewards used by the teacher seemed to be minimally effective. The ethnographer often noted that the effects of such efforts were very shortlived, and it seemed that many students were indifferent to whether they gained rewards. For example, the privileges of attending art, music, physical education, and other activities for good work behavior during academic study time did not seem to be a reward for many who elected not to participate anyway. The candy probably was more effective, though for some it did not seem to be highly motivating.

Ms. Baker's "flexibility" was interpreted by the ethnographer as "loose" or disorganized behavior that led to an overly relaxed classroom. There was no evidence in the data to suggest that, in fact, improved study habits were developing as a result of the teacher's efforts.

Frequency of specific behaviors in Ms. Baker's classroom. Based on the teacher's explicit statements of philosophy, one would expect a moderate to high incidence of teacher behaviors which would foster student self direction, self esteem, success, reward, and affirmation, and teacher equality or friendship. A summary of frequency of behaviors coded in the daily protocols indicates that Ms. Baker was not as positive, affirming, or attentive to social and emotional needs as she believed. The teacher behaviors with highest frequency were criticism, control, and reward, with the first two accounting for more than one half of the total coded interactions and equalling in frequency the positive teacher behaviors, perhaps cancelling or diminishing their effects. The coding category "punishment " had a high frequency considering that it was intended to be used only when "harshness" produced rather acute negative feelings. Therefore, its frequency was more significant.

Teacher behaviors which were low in frequency were the following: problem solving, producing feelings of success, encouraging student initiation, discouraging student initiation, communicating rejection, and terminating student self expression prematurely. Teacher behaviors which were totally absent from the coded data sample were: asking questions or stimulating student self expression, encouraging cooperation and sharing, soliciting student self evaluation, and fostering competition among peers.

Student social behavior in the classroom included a high incidence of negative attitudes, challenging authority or defiance, and conflict or disruptive behavior. Low frequency student behaviors included: competitiveness, positive conflict resolution, excluding or alienating behavior, evidence of student leadership, and enthusiasm or very positive attitudes. Student behaviors which did not occur at all in the data sample were: acceptance of others' ideas or accomplishments, inclusive behavior, independent carrying out of responsibility

or work, and behavior contributing to group cohesion. Somewhat variable were student behaviors of sharing and those exhibiting feelings of failure or lack of possible success. These categories of behavior were not particularly high in frequency but varied from low to moderate in rate of incidence.

Summary of behavior patterns and discussion. The pattern of teacher behavior was definitely one of decreasing rewards and increasing teacher control. Rewarding teacher behavior was highest in the beginning weeks of observation, when teacher criticism, the more moderate control technique, was the principal method of teacher influence on student behavior.

She turns and sees that many children are playing. And then she begins to count, "1...2...3..." The noise level is going down drastically and quickly, and then the teacher says, "There is enough for you to do and I want you all to read the chalkboard."

Connie says, "Where?" and the teacher says, "I'm glad I finally got your attention, Connie." Connie slams her book down and frowns. The teacher says, "Alright Connie, you are acting like a third grader and you were in third grade once and you know how they act, but I want you to understand that you are a sixth grader now, and you have to act like a sixth grader."

As the days passed, rewards decreased and teacher criticism turned to firmer, or strong, tactics of teacher control, such as sending disruptive students to the office or to sit outside, and withholding privileges of art, music, P.E., or peer tutoring. Correspondingly, incidents of harsh punishment were highest in the later weeks.

"Now, I want to count to five, and if you are not working on your reading I will be compelled to take recess or something away from you so you can complete your work. . . ."

She then goes to Melvin's desk and says, "Melvin, let's go." The teacher goes to the aide, "Will you take this child to Mrs. J.J. (community school counselor) and have a conference with her. He will not be in here until he will work. And I will officially write him up." The teacher says, while Melvin goes to get his things from his desk, "A smart kid like you, it's a shame to see you go down the drain!"

It is interesting to note that the pattern of student behavior, as indicated by frequency of incidents in the categories coded, did not correspond to the increasing severity in teacher responses to off-task or inappropriate student behavior. Specifically, there was some variability in the frequency of incidents of expressed negative attitudes, challenges to teacher authority, and conflict; yet none of the variability seemed directly related to teacher behavior. However, in reading the protocols one definitely gains a sense that the teacher is increasingly struggling for control over students who are becoming increasingly indifferent to her techniques of control. Students seem most rewarded by peer reinforcement for off-task behavior and least rewarded by participation in learning activities.

The data analysts believe that student behavior in Ms. Baker's classroom was significantly affected by the teacher's rather dull routine and lack of variety in the curriculum. Although there was flexibility in terms of accommodating frequent interruptions and children coming and going for various reasons, the daily schedule was quite rigidly set. Many of the activities required a high level of intrinsic student motivation for students to complete good work. Examples include routine writing in the journal each child kept, routine spelling work, long periods of independent seatwork, and the United and Sustained Silent Reading (USSR). There were very few opportunities for social interaction constructively incorporated into the learning experiences. Furthermore, recesses and those activities which allowed more social interaction and emotional expression--e.g., art, music, and P.E.--very frequently were withheld from students as penalty for incomplete work. Consequently, off-task social behavior was a constant problem for Ms. Baker, who struggled to retain some control over classroom behavior. She also became so accustomed to their off-task behavior that she ignored much of it, perhaps to avoid having to cope with it. But, there was little discussion, small group work, or pairing

for learning activities to address this natural need for social interaction and feedback.

In spite of her efforts and desire to be positive, over the five-week period Ms. Baker became increasingly negative, controlling, and punitive. Students' negative attitudes and indifference toward her reward system often led to teacher-student conflict, sometimes a clear power struggle:

Robin is saying, "I don't care. I don't care." The teacher says, "Sit down," and then looks at him in a very serious way and says, "You really don't care, do you? You should care. It's important that you care." The teacher looks up, goes to the front desk and says, "You can go now to Mrs. J.J. (school community counselor). Robin, I just don't want to tell you again to start your work. I want you to tell her something too." He moves his head, indicating that he's not going to go. The teacher says, "Go now." She says that very loud. She then walks over to his desk and begins gathering up his things and says three times, "Come on, let's go." He's saying, "I was working. I'm working, teacher." The teacher says, "I know you're working, come on." And she pulls at his sweater. He gets up and then looks around at his friends and says, "I'm glad." And the teacher says very loudly and sternly, "I'm glad you're glad," and they walked out the door.

Sometime later she says to all the children, "I'm ready for you and if you want to have a war, come on because I'm going to win." She looks around the classroom and says, "You know I just sent someone out of here because he could think of everything under God's green earth to get out of doing some work." She looks around at the children and they're starting to laugh.

The relatively continuous peer conflict in Ms. Baker's classroom was perpetuated in part by the teacher's unwillingness to deal with the conflict and engage the students in social problem solving to resolve it. Instead of preparing the students for positive, cooperative, and constructive group work, the teacher tended to influence student behavior by threat:

"Rule #1: If you argue at the center, it gets closed down."

The teacher moves Burt's seat right behind Marcy and Connie. And the teacher says, "I may have to move you

somewhere else." He sits down and then he begins to move his desk back slightly. He has never gotten to work and the teacher goes to the aide and says, "You know what I'm trying to do with those two don't you? I think the problem is he needs to move from being around the other. You know how they clash."

Furthermore, Ms. Baker sometimes modeled inappropriate behavior when frustrated with student misbehavior or negative attitude, instead of using the occasion for social instruction. This incident on November 3 is an example:

The teacher then points to Rodney and says, "I'll rip it up if I have to come over there and get it." He says, "This is my library book," and he starts to put it away. The teacher says, "I don't care, I'll still rip it up, and you'll have to explain why you don't have it. He shakes his head, indicating, "No, I won't have to explain nothing."

In summary, throughout the 25-day period student behavior in Ms. Baker's classroom was high in incidents which are classified as negative toward the teacher and/or learning activities. There were frequent episodes of verbal conflict which seemed to serve as social entertainment or sport. The teacher began to deal with student off-task behavior by using mild to moderate controls--usually counting, shushing, staring, restating expectations, waiting while visibly unhappy, or writing names on the board of those students needing to improve in study habits. Over the five-week period, she became increasingly vulnerable to emotional upset and frustration because of harsher controls and punishment by exclusion. Moralizing lectures on the necessity of good habits for success in school and life were relatively frequent and ineffective. All control techniques seemed to bring only temporary compliance at best, but often were received with defiant retorts or mannerisms which the teacher usually chose to ignore. Much of the inappropriate behavior, especially peer conflict, was ignored by Ms. Baker, and she often failed to consistently enforce her standards or contingency contracts. The reader of daily protocols senses that the students had control over the teacher and she knew it.

C. CASE STUDY OF MR. LEWIS' CLASSROOM

Hooper Elementary is located in a middle class, predominantly white neighborhood. Apparently most of the white students in the class under study lived in the neighborhood. Most of the minority students were bussed to the school from other neighborhoods; these students formerly attended the paired historically black school. This appeared to be the first year that bussing had been attempted at this school to achieve racial integration and a greater proportion of minority students. However, several black students had attended the school the previous year without any major incidents.

Mr. Lewis' classroom can be described as a nontraditional school environment. His primary approach to instruction was through the development of positive self concepts. He implemented a continuous program comprised of what he called "human relations" experiences. These experiences included "pair bonding" (the maintenance of physical contact between two people by hand holding until such time as they lose awareness that they are actually holding someone else's hands), dream analysis, daily biorhythmic charts, and meditation. Although the inclusion of these techniques in a regular public school program may initially appear quite unusual, Mr. Lewis effectively used them to maximize the educational experiences of the children, both on a group and individual basis.

The classroom environment was initially disrupted by the addition of the minority students to the class after the school year had already begun and the students had already formed friendship or affinity groups. This, in the teacher's opinion, caused a division between the students additional to the one caused by the differences in race and social class. Also, the flow of the class program was significantly altered when the school's administration requested

that Mr. Lewis cease his unusual classroom techniques until an investigation could be conducted. This situation added to the expressed hostility between Mr. Lewis and the school's principal. Mr. Lewis was allowed, however, to reinstate his program after the Board upheld his right to continue employing human relations experiences.

During the period of observation, the class was composed of 31 students, many of whom the teacher indicated were "hyperactive." Even after bussing to achieve desegregation, in Mr. Lewis' classroom the majority of the students remained white (19), with black (8), Mexican American (2), and Asian (2) students comprising a composite minority. The teacher is a white male. The aide is a Mexican American female. The aide's son was a member of the class.

Teacher philosophies and goals. Two primary sources of information were used to ascertain Mr. Lewis' philosophy and goals: (a) the initial and final interviews; and (b) the ethnographer's record of Mr. Lewis' behavior.

Mr. Lewis clearly identified his philosophy as being centered on the development of each child's awareness of self and others:

I say that now my philosophy is that I want the child to recognize that he is unique and. . . every person as being tremendously unique. And the class itself I feel is like an organism, a vital organism in itself. Part of the things I try to teach is to make him aware that even though he is a unique individual there are times he has to compromise or fit into a class as an organization of the school and the community. . . . The idea of individualism and the idea of being also part of an organism.

Through a series of human relations ("sensitivity") experiences, his students were taught and encouraged to develop their own unique personalities. In addition, Mr. Lewis continuously enacted his expressed belief in the importance of frequent affirmation of individual students as well as the class as a group. He used positive feedback and touching to convey affection and worth to each child.

As he explained,

touching is equivalent to acceptance, and when I put my arm around a child, he knows that I am accepting him as a person, and I have affection and understanding for him.

His goal of developing fully functioning individuals was not limited to positive interactions. He tempered his human relations program with physical punishment, or "swatting," as a method of personal value development.

The rationale he provided for the use of paddling was congruent with his philosophy:

When I paddle them I use a paddle; the paddle's about so big and I hit them on the butt; and I hit them with great force--but just once. My experience has been that by doing this rather than being angry at the child I do considerably less damage than the teacher who hates the child. I discharge my emotions, and I tell them I'm doing it. By swatting them or patting them on the butt like that the child knows fear, and fear is one of the elements in our culture that does control people.

Mr. Lewis, however, was aware of the possible misuse of physical and emotional punishment by those in power over children, and he combined touching and physical punishment in such a way as to reaffirm the difference between the individual's behavior and his/her self worth. He explained his intention:

The thing that's important about this--and this is, I think, of critical importance--is, if you are going to be the kind of person that uses corporal punishment, I believe you have to use affection with it. You cannot use corporal punishment alone, and then not touch the children, because then any kind of corporal punishment is pure brutality. . . . The touching is just as an important part of the program as the reading.

The goal of the human relations experiences, the affectionate touching, and the punitive swatting was to allow each child the opportunity to know his/her weaknesses, to appreciate his/her strengths, and to develop into the best person that he/she could be. The child also had the opportunity to learn how to work well with others and to compromise self interests, when necessary,

for the benefit of the group. In addition, these experiences allowed the student to perceive the weaknesses and strengths of others--including those of the teacher.

Although human relations skill development was the primary focus of Mr. Lewis' curriculum, both individual and group academic instruction were sufficiently included in the daily class agendas. Mr. Lewis clearly believed that both were necessary for all children, their instructional needs being based on their varying rates and levels of learning. Individual instruction was used regularly to provide opportunities for engaging in shared evaluation experiences and to allow the teacher to interact with children on a one-to-one basis. Mr. Lewis used this mode of instruction, particularly during reading, to provide feedback to individual students and to share his ideas and perceptions with them. Group instruction was provided to all children, even those described as extremely hyperactive. Group instruction was perceived by the teacher as the opportunity to not only disseminate information to the entire class but also as the time for imparting values and developing social behavior.

The physical development of each child was also a major goal of Mr. Lewis. Health education included instruction to increase an awareness of the body's functioning and the physical characteristics of various racial groups. Physical education activities (e.g., the running of laps and participation in sports) were used to foster nonsexist attitudes in both boys and girls. All children in Mr. Lewis' classroom could participate equally in all types of sports without distinctions based on sex. These activities also were used to relieve tension and boredom, to change the pace of instruction.

Mr. Lewis believed that many problems experienced by teachers were caused by their own philosophies and curriculum, as well as their inability to change to meet the needs of the children. He described his perspective in this way:

But sometimes when I can feel that I'm losing control of the class because of either something that I've done or something that is happening--usually something that I've done or haven't done; and almost always because I've given them materials which are too difficult for them; and instead of belaboring the point. . . I just take them out and exercise and play something.

Mr. Lewis operated on a belief that affirmation of the personal worth of each child as an individual and as a member of a distinct racial/cultural group was of primary importance. This belief was consistently reflected in his personal relations with the children, as well as in the curriculum and materials he selected for instructional purposes. He chose stories about famous black sportspersons for the development of listening skills. His questions to the students were very pointed and commanded them to examine their own racial beliefs. He taught them that confrontation is a very effective method of dealing with racial stereotypes and racial beliefs. He challenged some of the children in the classroom with being racists (white children who had negative feelings about black children) and accused some of the black children of originally believing that they were to be treated differently because of their race. He forced the children into situations in which they had to interact with each other and at least become more aware of their prejudices. Through his human relations experiences, he provided them with opportunities to correct their misconceptions. He appeared to be surprised by the extent to which both black and white children expressed a lack of awareness regarding racial injustices.

Mr. Lewis was obviously a very intelligent and caring teacher. Trained in psychology and education, he demonstrated an extremely professional approach to teaching and to the socioemotional growth of children. Although occasionally he appeared to be cruel and harsh, Mr. Lewis regularly communicated acceptance, openness, and caring to the children and frequently to their parents. He apparently had modified his teaching in response to his critical review of his

practices in light of both his professional training and past teaching experiences. Although several incidents of philosophically contradictory teaching behavior occurred, Mr. Lewis appeared to try to embody fully the humanistic philosophy of education.

Teacher and ethnographer perceptions of events. Both the teacher and the ethnographer perceived the teacher as personally effective and his teaching strategies as successful. It was interesting to note that: (a) the teacher appeared to use the ethnographer to confirm or validate his effectiveness, (b) the ethnographer became an advocate for the teacher and his teaching strategies, and (c) the teacher used the information provided by the ethnographer to modify his perceptions of classroom events and his behavior.

Mr. Lewis did not appear threatened by the observer. Indeed, he stated that the MESE Project's study was a very useful experience for him in that he gained an unbiased perception of his instructional performance and his relationships with the children. It might be noted, however, that Mr. Lewis had been under extreme pressure from the administration of his school to alter his class program. The presence of a daily and "unbiased" observer in the classroom might have been perceived by him as an opportunity to lend support to his threatened program. He also, however, used the ethnographer's comments to monitor the personal and social development of the children.

The ethnographer was extremely detailed in her comments, which were normally complete and well documented. She also was analytical and seemed to have had professional training in the field of education, or perhaps psychology. Her comments portrayed the teacher as caring and supportive, and well in control of the classroom situation. The following excerpt illustrates the thoroughness of the ethnographer's descriptions:

"Okay, put down the materials." The students are slow to respond. The teacher waits. The noise level is plus zero, and the teacher says firmly, "Okay, during the activity you had a number of raw resources. It's similar to that in the real world. In certain nations, there are-- there are certain nations which have specific things." The students fidget. Most of them seem to be prepared to do the activity over again. The teacher continues telling them that the competition that they had between themselves was similar to those of nations, and that the competition brings out the evil in nations and people, and makes them unwilling to share. The teacher points to Randy, who had earlier been trying to hide the paint, and says, "Randy was ready to hide the paint." He says this firmly, and Randy becomes immediately defensive and says, "No, uh-uh." He shakes his head and looks wide-eyed. The teacher continues to the class saying that he deliberately set up the class to act this way in an experimental, in an aggressive manner. The teacher tells the class that, in his opinion, they would do anything to compete, to the extent of killing each other, that they were so aggressive and uncooperative, that had he given them guns, they'd kill each other. Julia and Lily pipe in enthusiastically, "I would." The noise level is a plus zero as the teacher continues explaining his motives in setting up the experiment in the class's demonstrations of uncooperativeness. He then says firmly to the class, who is listening intently at this point, "Okay, when I say go, you give each group two of what you have."

The teacher's tactics for individual growth and group control were perceived by the ethnographer and the teacher to be fair and healthy. Situations in which the children confronted the teacher, mostly incidents of minor disobedience, were reported from both perspectives, with the teacher consistently admitting fault when applicable and being constructive in response. Mr. Lewis' classroom, which could have been a demanding and threatening situation for many teachers, was perceived by both Mr. Lewis and the ethnographer to be a healthy and challenging environment for both teacher and students.

Frequency of specific behaviors in the classroom. Mr. Lewis' most frequent behaviors were positive. Specifically, he affirmed the uniqueness of both individuals and groups, verbally accepted their differences, and used positive, constructive tactics to manage their behavior and improve their work habits. Student self evaluation and self expression were encouraged and accepted. Mr. Lewis

consistently praised the efforts of the children to initiate activities and solve their own problems. In most instances he ignored the "tattletale" behaviors of children and encouraged them to resolve their own disputes. It was only when children were excessively cruel or used physical abuse with each other that he would assert his control.

Typically, Mr. Lewis listened and responded to the children as individuals. He used this method to not only receive information but also to convey his respect for their ideas and personhood. For example,

He tells her to come over to his desk to read. Eve quickly comes over to the teacher's desk, sits at the pull-out and the teacher listens as she reads, holding his hand, cupping his mouth and chin in his left hand, while his right hand holds Eve's Barnell-Loft book. . . . The teacher then turns to Eve and says in a low voice, looking at her directly, lowering his head somewhat so that he can look her eye to eye. He says softly and encouragingly, "Eve, you read so well. Why do you think you're having trouble with the kids?" Eve replies, hesitantly, "I don't know. Terri doesn't want me to talk to her, so I don't." The teacher says quietly and gently, "You know, you do things that you're not aware of. Why did you have the pens?" He asks this in a persistent, but gentle voice, referring to the extra set of pens that Eve had that belonged to Kellie. Eve replies, inaudibly, and the teacher speaks softly to her. Eve sits listening . . . the teacher continues, "You show a lot of creativity and a lot of good qualities; you're worth a lot. You're a good athlete." He looks down and speaks softly. Eve does not look at the teacher. "I want you to think before you say things that will make people angry. Ask yourself 'what did I say to make a person angry or closer with me.' . . . The teacher continues talking gently and looking at her; he says, "I talked to your dad yesterday. He seems to be an exceptional man. He seems to think that you're trying to change. I do too. Just continue to try." Eve looks up toward the teacher as he mentions her father. The teacher pats Eve's shoulder and smiles saying, gently and softly, "Okay, go back to work."

Mr. Lewis had used an opportunity to instruct Eve in appropriate social behavior without creating a sense of shame or a lack of worth, and with a minimum of embarrassment. Although Eve's problem behavior was noted, her self worth was reaffirmed and remained intact.

Mr. Lewis consistently maintained eye contact with the children, spoke in a well-controlled, soft voice, and distributed his attention equitably. He encouraged the development of leadership skills (particularly through the use of peer tutoring), group cohesiveness, and individual responsibility. He was consistent and intentional in developing student self management. An illustration is:

Listen. When I put you in your Barnell-Loft books, I expect you to be responsible for them. But I am responsible too. I can't keep track of your progress if you don't tell me what you are doing. I can make mistakes too. I can makes mistakes in my judgment. If your Barnell-Loft book is too hard, you can come up to me and tell me that you need help. You can also tell me if you think it's too easy. Just come up and say "this is too easy. You made a mistake."

He specifically used opportunities to reinforce positive behaviors and individually praise students for their accomplishments. Mr. Lewis used a system of immediate reward (free time) to reinforce the completion of classwork and allowed the students to be responsible for their own behaviors. Only in extreme instances and after consecutive warnings was physical or verbal punishment used to modify behavior. Although Mr. Lewis was verbally abusive and unfair in some instances, these instances were rare and were normally followed by an explanation directed to the person(s) affected.

In summary, using the categories of teacher behavior outlined in Appendix B of this report, Mr. Lewis would be recorded as consistently demonstrating all of the positive behaviors at consistently high rates. These behaviors include: affirmation of individual and group worth; rewarding student behaviors; asking questions; providing opportunities for students to make choices and decisions; encouraging cooperation, self direction, initiation, self evaluation, and problem solving; and providing a sense of success while using positive behavior management techniques.

Summary of behavior patterns. Mr. Lewis maintained a very constructive classroom social and work environment. The individual worth and contributions of each child were sensitively recognized and rewarded. Teacher-student, teacher-group, student-group, and student-student relationships were consistently nurtured, and actively pursued and developed. Regular experiences were provided to guide the personal growth of all individual students and the group. The following is a descriptive illustration of such experiences:

The teacher tells the students to close their eyes. He is standing in the southwest corner by the south door. The noise level drops to zero and the teacher starts speaking in a rhythmic calm voice, watching the students intently as he does so. He says, "It's now June 7, 1979. We are ready to go to 'Magic Mountain' and we're sitting in the cars getting ready to go. You have in your pocket your tickets. Notice what clothing you're wearing" The teacher is watching the students who are quietly imagining their trip to "Magic Mountain." . . . The students are breathing slowly. Some of them clear their throats. "You're riding back. It's over, and we're in front of the school gate. You get out. You see yourself back at your seat with your blindfold on. Okay take a deep breath. Get your discussion sheets, and fold your blindfolds and put them in your desk. Okay, Wilson, you start first." Wilson relates, quickly, what he imagined and the teacher replies, "Very good."

A multiethnic approach to instruction was clearly evident. Race and culture were both explored in terms of differences and similarities. Experiences were provided for the children to become familiar with each other as individuals, individuals with good and bad habits. During the exit interview, Mr. Lewis commented on his success:

The main problem that I saw or see and I am trying to deal with is the fact that prejudices exist in a very real and visible way in the classroom as well as in the country, obviously. And what I am attempting to do is confront the problem instead of hiding my head in the sand and trying to ignore the fact that hatred exists and that prejudices exist. I said hatred because I think it is strongly, firmly entrenched in the country and entrenched

in the children. (And after intervention) . . . It was children being very specific about behavior of other children and when their behavior was not appropriate, and that made me really feel good last week because I could see that it was no longer a racial thing. Black kids could say good things about the black and white kids, and white kids could say things about the black and white kids, so it is beginning to break down and I hope by the end of the year there will be some strong visible evidence that attacking the thing forthrightly instead of hiding from it is the way to deal with the problem.

D. CASE STUDY OF MS. GARCIA'S CLASSROOM

Van De Camp School, as a result of the desegregation effort, had an enrollment of 79 percent Mexican-American at the time of the observations. The remaining children were white and black. It is a small school, with only 150 to 170 students, and eight teachers for grades K-6. Since there is only one class per grade, the students tend to represent a wide range of abilities within each class.

Ms. Garcia's classroom was described as a bilingual fifth grade with all teaching being available in both English and Spanish. Ms. Garcia is Mexican American and spoke in Spanish when it seemed helpful to a student. Only six out of 30 students were white or black, and only 4 were bussed to the school. There were two very distinctive characteristics of this setting which significantly contributed to the nature of the interactions recorded in the data. First of all, the teacher was well acquainted with most of her students. She had taught about two-thirds of the children in second or third grade. She had been in the school and community for years and felt rather intimately acquainted with her students' parents and siblings as well. Consequently, she reported extensive information about each child.

Secondly, the classroom benefited from having four "teachers": the classroom teacher, a student teacher, an aide, and a bilingual teacher. Ms. Garcia was exceptionally skillful in providing support and guidance to the members of the teaching team, as well as giving them freedom to use their own judgment and claim their own authority as teachers. Consequently, the students viewed them as a team, with each one commanding the respect and authority of a teacher. This unusual wealth of teaching resources made it possible for each teacher to personalize and individualize learning experiences, perhaps to a greater extent than would be feasible with fewer competent teachers in the room.

Teacher philosophy and goals. Ms. Garcia readily identified three principal goals she held for herself as a teacher: (a) to teach students how to "really relate" to each other, "feel each other," and build continuing friendships around good feelings; (b) to teach them to feel good about themselves and others--secure, confident and accepting, and valuing diversity; (c) to teach them "how to make it in society." A fourth, more specific goal the teacher had at the initial interview was to establish an art center for children to enjoy when work was finished. The teacher felt her function was to motivate them through creative activity which would affirm their unique individuality and worth.

At the base of the teacher's philosophy seemed to be a very genuine affection and respect for each child. That affection was based on understanding of the child acquired through relationship. In her daily summary of October 27, the teacher described her teaching process as based on "a very special relationship" she built with each child in the class. The following statement reflects a philosophy and style that permeated her work with students:

There is something very unique about each youngster
that I find appealing, and that attracts me to him.
I find a special need, a special talent, a uniqueness.

Ms. Garcia went on to say that she viewed her students as individuals and did not have favorites. Her positive feelings, and enthusiasm about the class was frequently communicated. She believed they were a "super class" and the only problem was laziness and a lack of study habits. Consequently, it was part of her philosophy that students need to be pushed by high expectations, but with support and affection conveyed. Her philosophy did stress children's individual uniqueness and needs for recognition, feelings of acceptance and worth.

Ms. Garcia was against busing because she preferred neighborhood schools closely tied to the community, yet her philosophy was very consistent with

multicultural education. She viewed her class as individuals, not racial or cultural groups. Her respect for each child was reflected in the statement:

I will always say, "I have faith in you. I believe in you. I know you can handle it. Would you like to go and try it?"

She perceived her role as one of helping the student assume responsibility for his/her own growth and then providing the help needed.

Ms. Garcia's philosophy was translated into a teaching style she described as "hang loose" in a very structured, organized setting. In her planning she strived for interaction, involvement, and self management. She wanted students to make decisions, enjoy learning in school, feel successful, and become more responsible and less lazy. Consequently, she carefully made certain they understood the reasons for rules, expectations and consequences of behavior. Most learning activity occurred in small groups followed by independent practice work. The availability of a teacher in the small group format made more immediate feedback and consistent reinforcement possible.

The primary method of motivation was a reward system in which individuals earned points to reach a quota required to go on an attractive field trip. In order to actively involve the children in learning, she often used questioning, integration of their interests with the lesson, discussion, manipulation of objects, and problem solving. A good example of student engagement in social problem solving occurred on November 20, when she helped Roy and Abbott resolve a conflict:

Roy and Abbott, who were staying after school, had a problem. With Roy in tears, and each accusing the other of saying, "Your Momma." It was easy to talk to Roy because he was in tears. One of his answers was, "everybody hates me." So I confided to him, "No. No. Don't do that. Work with yourself. You have to work with yourself before you start out blaming others." As we continued working, I said to Abbott, "You know, Roy is really upset. Why don't you go and talk with him." Abbott went to look for him. At that time Roy

had gone to the washroom and Roy came back and I said, "Roy, Abbott's looking for you. He wants to talk the problem over." It was very rewarding to see this slight smile across his face and they both went out. They talked their problem over. They came back and I said, "Things okay?" They said, "Yeah, things are fine."

To achieve her goals of social and emotional development of students, Ms. Garcia seemed to focus her attention on the feelings of the students at any time and to include confrontation, discussion in class meetings, or modification in plans to accommodate personal and academic needs. She also regarded a cooperative parent-teacher partnership as critical to her effectiveness, and pushed parental observation and participation in the classroom.

Teacher and ethnographer perceptions of events. Ms. Garcia and the ethnographer seemed in agreement regarding their perceptions of teacher and student behavior in the classroom. The ethnographer substantiated that the teacher conveyed respect to each child, was sensitive to each child's feelings, employed different strategies for different students to accommodate their individual needs, clearly conveyed appropriate social values, and effectively managed the classroom. Her style was described as warm, nurturant, especially positive, and loose or flexible within a well-defined structure of expectations and procedures. The ethnographer reported that most learning occurred in small groups with frequent one-to-one contact, and noted the effective use of a rugged area for intimate discussion in a circle.

The observer described the philosophy of Ms. Garcia as revolving around behavior modification because of her emphasis on earning points for field trips. She was reported to encourage peer sanctioning and leadership in an environment which had minimal rules, mostly those which would be regarded as "ethical." Negative sanctions occurred for: saying "shut up," being selfish, hurting someone, name calling, being negative, and putting down self or someone else.

Positive sanctions were dispensed for sharing, helping, showing respect, and being positive and happy. The ethnographer noted that "if she puts someone down, if she sanctions them harshly, later on that same day she will do something to pick them up," (*Summarizing Task #2: Socialization*, p. 4) such as a warm gesture of affirmation.

The ethnographer's description was consistent with the teacher's self report. The teacher stressed importance of timing in disciplining or "pushing" students. She first attempted to establish a strong relationship with a child, and then to sense when the student was able to handle more pressure from her. She believed that firmness and love make an effective mix, but that secure feelings of acceptance must be established first before honest, frank feedback and confrontation of a child's weaknesses can occur constructively. She sensitively timed the pushing of a child in work habits, being very careful in creating pressure. It was difficult for the data analyst to know the background of her specific actions and to ascertain the relative effects. However, the ethnographer seemed to corroborate the teacher's descriptions. The teacher described it in her summary on November 20 (p. 4) as getting "results by pushing with high standards and being patient, coaxing, helping, rewarding, and scolding"--helping them to become "turned on and motivated within themselves." She reported that she always maintained a smile when talking with youngsters and prevented criticism from being a threat by her manner. She felt this indicated to the students that they are responsible for their own behavior.

The teacher also reported herself to be rather dramatic in teaching, to feel "on stage" much of the time. An example she cited was the "homework lecture" in which she intentionally was cold, stern, and harsh following her expression of disappointment in their failure to assume self responsibility and complete assigned homework. She evaluated the dramatic technique as effective. The ethnographer

seemed to perceive the event similarly. The teacher's comments in reporting such transactions indicated that thoughtful, sensitive evaluation was constantly occurring and influencing her selection of strategies to use. The data analyst, however, gained an impression of abrupt change in manner with perhaps devastating effects. There were some verbal transactions which may have had more negative effects than either the teacher or ethnographer recognized, and they will be cited in the next section.

Student behavior in Ms. Garcia's classroom was marked by minimal incidents of conflict, divisiveness, and negativism, and a notable amount of independent self direction, enthusiasm, and positive interactions with adults and peers. There were numerous indicators that students were developing skills of communicating acceptance, inclusion, and sensitivity to others. The only real problem seemed to be the persistent failure of students to complete the homework. The teacher felt very strongly that homework should be completed. As the ethnographer noted, getting the students to do homework became a "constant theme." Most negative sanctions occurred around this problem.

The teacher's intentional teaching of appropriate social behavior resulted in a well integrated class with no complete loners and all children in the class having friends. There were no tight cliques, according to the ethnographer, and relationships did not seem based at all on ethnicity. Students seemed to respect and be happy with each other.

Summary of behavior patterns and discussion. Ms. Garcia's pattern of teaching behavior was a positive one, with constructive management tactics to influence student behavior or work habits being the most frequent and characteristic behavior. She also was characteristically high on instruction in appropriate social behavior, conveying values and standards, and rewarding, affirming interaction with her students. She frequently engaged students in self evaluation. For example:

"There was a lot of talking during our independent reading. You were not assigned to talk. I am very disappointed. Those who were talking won't get points." She then goes down the list calling the names of all the girls, asking them if they deserve points. Only two girls say that they do not deserve points. However, in going down the list of the boys, no boy says he deserves points. At the conclusion of the boys' list, she begins to question several girls who admit that they were talking and to whom they were talking and, as it ends up, most girls admit they were talking and do not receive points.

She employed numerous positive tactics to influence classroom behavior-- e.g., saying, "Excuse me" to get their attention or to indicate they were interrupting, clapping her hands or snapping her fingers, or just waiting. She often made criticism impersonal, matter-of-fact, and of a feedback nature in which the teacher indicated personal disagreement with their choices.

She asks twice, "Are we ready?" There is a smattering of students who respond, "Yes." She replies, "Don't tell me, let me see," and she raises her hand. There is a girl standing and she gives a friendly swat on the behind and smiles. The girl smiles in return.

"I can tell where the business is and where the noise is." She pauses and does not get much of a response. She says loudly, "Why aren't my independent people sitting down and being independent?" She then gets up and says, "I disagree with all the noise." Very loudly she says, "George, get over here." She then turns and talks in private to a Mexican female.

The teacher says, "I wish that pencil would disappear, George."

This teacher's use of somewhat harsh or punitive tactics was very infrequent and, although the frequency of more moderate criticism was similar to that of other teachers, the effects seemed significantly different. This teacher was well aware of her behavior and was careful to evaluate the effects. She varied her interaction with individuals in the classroom based on her knowledge and perception of each one. She carefully cultivated a positive relationship of caring with the child, building a sense of security and worth in the relationship, and then began to

"push" the child to higher achievement. The following statement to students illustrate her ability to criticize positively and to carefully determine the appropriate time to firmly confront a student with a need to change:

The teacher says, "Okay, Betty, you should be on Chapter 3. You're running on the lazy side. You've been done with Chapter 1 for ages, but haven't had it correct and fixed." Betty smiles. The teacher then says, "You remind me of the grasshopper in winter," and goes on to carry out the analogy of the story about the grasshopper who did not pack away any food, as opposed to the hardworking ant.

Abbott is over in the far corner near the windows in area one. The teacher says to Abbott, "I do not like your always sitting away. You're telling us that you don't want to be part of us. It hurts my feelings; it makes me mad." Abbott gets up and draws close.

A few days later she reported the following interaction again with Abbott:

"You know, Abbott, if we had trench holes in this classroom I'm sure that you would always hide in one because you do everything that you can to not be a part of the lesson. You can get yourself away and you attempt to hide, and I guess you must figure that by doing this you can't really learn and if you can't really learn, then how can anybody blame you for not having learned." The class laughed at this. It was a situation where I was having, or we were making fun of him and it wasn't a situation where I was inviting people to laugh and ridicule him. It was a situation where I was trying to expose him and that's another thing that I do in my dealings with children, when I feel I need to I will expose them and by the exposure then maybe there will be a change--a change of attitude. And I felt like the time had come for exposure with Abbott.

As was noted above, Ms. Garcia could also be quite harsh in her dramatic efforts to create within a child the motivation to change. Although the teacher and ethnographer indicated that she sensitively judged her communication to students and, if she had to be severe or extremely forceful, she "picked them up" again later with smiles, pats, or words of affirmation, the data analysts wonder about the effects of teacher behavior such as the following:

(Setting: discussion of points accumulated toward field trip)

"Nora has very few points, but she is the one that I am speaking for. She will go, regardless. Her

work habits are good, her attitude is super. Her attendance is too. Even when she was sick, she came. It's just that fifth grade work is too hard for her. Some of you with fifth grade brains haven't done half as much." . . . Nora was beaming as she came over to the observer to say goodnight.

Nora evidently felt affirmed, but the statement was a left-handed compliment that was potential dynamite for Nora and others.

(Setting: a lengthy lecture on laziness and other interspersed events)

The teacher. . . in a very angry voice says, "You don't seem to realize that you won't go to the sixth grade if you don't work for me in the fifth. I have told some parents that. I've told them that you're lazy. Let's cancel the whole thing (the field trip)."

"Carl, that note was not for tearing up. I'll bet you didn't even have the decency to throw it in the trash." Her voice is extremely angry. She continues, "Al, stop babying yourself. You're in the fifth grade, you're not a baby. . . . We did this ("The Wiz" field trip) for you, and this is what we get!"

All four adults then jump on all the children for incomplete homework, shaming them for all their effort in planning a trip and that the students don't even try to earn points to go. The aide asks the students why the teachers are speaking as they are. Two immediate student responses are: "We are lazy." "You are saying that you like doing things for us, but it's not so nice if we don't do our part."

(Setting: students entering after lunch recess)

Roy has been in trouble with a squirt gun. A student complains to the teacher that he has been squirting them. The teacher finds out that Roy had taken it back sneakily after another teacher confiscated it the day before. She says, "I'm angry that he took it when we didn't give it back." She takes it, walks over the tiled floor area. . . drops it, and steps on it twice. She says, "Okay, now he can have it back!"

Later, when Roy returns to the classroom--Roy goes over, starts to pick it up, and asks very angrily of Van who did it. Van replies, "I believe the teachers." Roy then goes to the teacher who says in a very firm, cold voice, "I hope I don't get any argument, so sit down. We took this away from you and didn't give it back, and it had to be taken away from you again because you were

misusing it. I dropped it and accidentally stepped on it. I hope you get the message." Her voice was very stern. Roy does not say anything. He gets up and goes to his work.

The frequency of these seemingly very negative incidents was relatively low, and student behaviors suggest that the effects were not as negative as one might expect. Teacher behavior was three times more positive than negative, and student behavior was seven times more positive than negative with a noticeably low incidence of conflict. The children reflected positive self images in their assumption of self directive responsibilities and more inclusive, acceptive interaction with peers. All children had friends in the class and tended to be inclusive. It seems that critical factors were the ratio of negative to positive teacher behavior and the secure nature of the teacher-student relationship. The relationships were based on affirmation and respect, which allowed the teacher to exert pressure, to occasionally shame them, and to reject their behavior without communicating personal rejection of them. The long history of relationships with the families and community, the one or two years of previously teaching most of the students, and the mutual affection and respect certainly were critical factors which allowed the teacher to successfully accomplish her goals. Her methods undoubtedly would have failed if the students had not cared so much about their relationship with her and, therefore, wanted to please her.

A confounding element in the discussion of Ms. Garcia is the fact that there were four teachers in the classroom, and the behavior of each one contributed to the pattern of interactions in the classroom. The protocols suggest that the student teacher was more rigidly structured, severe in criticism, and demanding. It seems that her behavior often resulted in Ms. Garcia being more critical or negative with the children in support of the student teacher.

In summary, the teaching style of Ms. Garcia was based on a case study approach in which curriculum planning and instruction were designed to meet the

personal as well as the specific academic needs of each child. She was consistently positive and focused on her goal of increasing their sense of self worth, potential contribution and success, and ability to be responsible, self-managed individuals. She minimized the need for discipline by using "all kinds of methods," planning for the children to have "a lot of fun," and creating a lot of laughter in the classroom (Initial Interview, p. 23).

Ms. Garcia evidently conveyed in her critical feedback and demands for more effort that her actions were rooted in her deep caring for the child and in her firm belief in his/her ability to achieve and contribute significantly. She made her expectations very clear and planned carefully for success. Homework seemed to be the only major problem to the teacher; students produced well under teacher supervision, but failed to carry out responsibilities at home. Her response was to create a work time after school to help them--NOT as punishment. It is very possible that her most significant characteristic was her intense caring. The students genuinely liked her.

PART III: COMPARATIVE CONCLUSIONS

The data collected on the four teachers were analyzed for evidence of teacher behavior and attitudes which seemed to affect individual and group self images, self esteem, and social development. It was hypothesized that the teachers most positively affecting student behavior and attitudes would be those valuing and intentionally planning for the socioemotional development of students. Those teachers would exhibit identifiable patterns of behavior and specific attitudes in four areas of professional competence: (a) classroom management or behavior control techniques, (b) implementation of the curriculum, (c) teaching and planning for socioemotional development of students, and (d) skills for relating to parents and citizens in the community. These four categories of teacher competence were expected to suggest "problem areas" or skill deficits which contributed to the relative ineffectiveness of other teachers.

This section will report the comparisons made among the four project teachers regarding specific behaviors related to the above-identified categories of professional competence. Before comparisons regarding each of the four categories are delineated, the teachers will be discussed in terms of their perceived overall effectiveness, stated philosophies, and general priorities or goals for teaching. Included in the latter discussion will be some comparisons of teacher self concepts and professional self esteem which seem related to their general style or approach to teaching children.

Comparative Effectiveness

Within the framework of this study (described in Part I), one could theorize a continuum of professional competence along which each teacher could be placed. On one end of that continuum would be the teacher perceived as most effective, with such characteristics as: more positive attitudes and interactions with students;

more organized, flexible, and individualized teaching; more consistent, clear, and positive expectations for student achievement; more sensitivity to the personal, emotional, and social aspects of classroom experiences and the needs of students; more evaluative, experimental, and creative use of a variety of methods and materials to enhance motivation and generate student feelings of success. On the opposite end of the continuum would be the teacher perceived to be least effective, with such characteristics as: disorganized; rigidly structured; criticizing; more controlling; and less attentive to individual differences, personal needs, techniques of motivation, and methods of structuring successful experiences in learning.

Although this continuum is a somewhat imperfect approximation of effectiveness within the framework of effect on student social and emotional development, the four teachers in the study can be placed along the continuum to represent their overall effectiveness. Mr. Lewis most fully represents the behaviors and attitudes expected to create maximal positive impact on student behavior and attitudes related to socioemotional development. Mr. Williams was least representative of effectiveness according to the selected criteria. Ms. Baker and Ms. Garcia fell in between the other two.

Based on the teacher self reports, recorded samples of classroom interaction, and the ethnographers' descriptions--and sometimes interpretations--the data analysts concluded that Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia represented more effective classroom educators and that Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker depicted less effective teachers within the framework of this study. The continuum was rather clearly defined by their relative performance in the various categories, with Mr. Williams and Mr. Lewis positioned significantly closer to the extreme positive and negative ends of the continuum.

The results of the data analyses present two dichotomous sets of teacher behavior, which represent two different styles. The subsequent comparisons reported in this section will be based on the examination of Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia as the pair of more effective teachers and Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker as the pair of less effective ones. It should be noted that these teachers are being described and their effectiveness is being judged only in relation to the classes they were teaching in the fall of 1978. With different groups of children, each may have manifested different styles, and, therefore, may have been more or less effective than they appeared to be in this study.

Philosophies and Goals

Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia consistently expressed--verbally and behaviorally--philosophies which recognized the socioemotional development of students, individually and as groups, as their priority in education. The goals they identified for their teaching related to developing healthy student self concepts, self esteem, social understanding and skills, and motivation for personal development and academic achievement. In discussing their philosophies and goals, they reflected notable self confidence. They felt good about themselves personally and professionally, and they appreciated the opportunity to receive external evaluative feedback, e.g., from the MESE Project, as a check on their continuous self evaluation. Both seemed eager to continue improving their teaching effectiveness and, thus, welcomed constructive feedback. The outcomes of these philosophical orientations were relatively atypical classrooms--less traditional and more flexibly managed, with significantly more personal and socially interactive learning experiences.

In contrast to the two more effective teachers, the philosophies and

goals of Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker were more centered on mastery of the basic skills, grade level performance, and work habits. Ms. Baker verbally indicated that a major goal she held for her teaching was to develop in students positive self concepts, and to teach students to feel better about themselves and others. However, as was noted in the case study, her behavior consistently communicated that study habits were the top priority because they would enable children to achieve well academically, which would lead to positive self images. Analysis of her classroom behavior indicates that she implicitly espoused a philosophy which valued academic achievement and disciplined work habits more than social and emotional development. Mr. Williams was most consistent in his verbal and behavioral communication of academic-centered values and philosophical orientation.

Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker manifested less self confidence and generally made more statements that suggested less positive feelings about themselves personally and/or professionally. Mr. Williams was the most openly negative about himself. He mentioned briefly that he was frequently "picked on" and lacked the respect of his colleagues. The relatively less positive self perceptions and more academic-centered philosophies of education resulted in two classrooms which were: operated with tight teacher controls, and rigid schedules and routines; almost void of any experimentation or variation; and distinguished by frequent expressions of teacher hostility, frustration, or defensiveness.

Classroom Management or Behavior Control Techniques

There were three principal ways in which Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia were distinguishable from Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker: (a) in degree of positivism versus negativism in approach, (b) in the use of "negative" control tactics, and (c) in the implementation of preventive strategies to reduce or

eliminate misbehavior. The differences between the two pairs of teachers were consistently manifested, and were perceived to significantly influence the classroom climate and student behavior.

Positive and negative teacher behavior. Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia were much more positive in their strategies of classroom management than were Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker. Positive tactics involved the establishment of clear contracts based on expectations of student success. Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia frequently influenced student behavior by reminding the individual of his/her contract and expectations--for example, telling a child who is wasting time that there are ten minutes left for him to reach his goal and receive the reward of "free time" or another privilege. That communication conveyed the teacher expectation that the student wanted to succeed to reach his goal, and that he was capable of doing that--he just got sidetracked or forgot his goal and time limit. The positive tactics of Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia were not typically perceived as criticizing the child in a manner to lower self esteem through embarrassment or shame, but as gently but firmly reminding the child of a shared commitment.

All four teachers used more critical, harsh tactics on occasion. The discriminating factors were the frequency of occurrence for such events and the ratio of positive to negative tactics. The more effective teachers were at least equally positive and negative, while the less effective teachers were negative more frequently than positive (e.g., Ms. Baker used a mild to harsh negative tactic for every positive control technique used). Further distinction can be made between the two sets of teachers on the kind and use of rewards and more negative, punishing controls.

The more positive teachers used a wider variety of rewards and allowed the children to participate by selecting a meaningful reward. Ms. Garcia

primarily used field trips, which the children selected as a group. Individuals earned points toward the privilege of participating in the field trip. This was a form of delayed reward. Mr. Lewis seemed more effective in that his students could earn the reward of free time, which was available immediately upon completion of work and could be used by the child in the way most rewarding to him/her personally. The reward of free time seemed most motivating of all rewards because of its provision for individual selection and its immediacy. The rewards of free time and field trips were distinctly different from those of Ms. Baker, for example--which were food (e.g., tootsie rolls, Milk Duds, sunflower seeds), trinkets, and the privilege of running errands or doing clean-up work for the teacher. Such rewards often lacked value for individuals in Ms. Baker's classroom.

An important factor which seemed critical to the effectiveness of the reward systems was the perception by all students that the rewards were attainable and meaningful to them. Mr. Lewis was most careful to make the reward of free time an attainable reward every day for every child. Furthermore, he took away nothing from the students, which was not the case for the other teachers. As was seen with Ms. Baker, who implemented a reward system in an intentional effort to be positive in her management of classroom behavior, such a system can become a club by which the teacher controls behavior through threats of withholding rewards. Some continuous "losers" came to believe they would never be able to earn the rewards and gave up, often undermining the effectiveness of the system for classmates. This negative effect was particularly evident in Ms. Baker's classroom, where a child needed to accumulate many points over a period of weeks in order to earn the privilege of going on a class field trip.

Ms. Baker's interim control tactics were the withholding of the "rewards" or privileges of attending art, music, physical education,

tutoring in the lower grades, and any other "non-basic" curricular activity as penalty for incomplete work. Although this system was intended to reward good work habits and completed work, many students found its rewards unattainable and gave up, deciding they did not like those activities anyway. The teacher listed on the board those students eligible for rewarding activities, which was very few on many days. It seems that a teacher's use of diagnosis to determine appropriate learning objectives for individual students is basic to making rewards attainable for all students. The "slower learners" must have assignments which are reasonable for them to complete within a given time period, and not be given greater quantities because they are "behind" or below grade level.

The use of negative control tactics. The second major distinction between the more effective and less effective teachers was in their use of negative control tactics or punishment. The more effective teachers established very clear contingency contracts with individuals and the entire class so that the consequences of serious misbehavior were known in advance. Those contracts were more consistently implemented than with less effective teachers. Students of Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia seemed to expect consistent enforcement of contingencies, and the teachers did not tend to be vulnerable very often to irrational reactions to student misbehavior. Furthermore, Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia seemed to carefully evaluate the timing and the appropriateness of various control tactics for use with a child deserving more firm or punitive treatment.

Both Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia adjusted their strategies according to the characteristics and needs of individual students. Ms. Garcia especially spoke of her efforts to judge carefully when it was the right time to "push" or "confront" an individual with the inappropriateness of behavior or the

need to change an attitude. Both of the more effective teachers followed up harsher or punitive control techniques with communication of affirmation, respect, and affection for the child. They were sensitive to the danger of children feeling rejected and devalued by harsh controls and explicitly countered those necessary events with statements of affirmation and gestures of affection, such as hugs and pats.

• Preventive strategies. The two sets of teachers were significantly different in terms of the use of preventive approaches to behavior control. Of course, the establishment by Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia of clear contingency contracts and their consistent enforcement of those contracts were themselves preventive tactics in that students regarded the system more seriously and were less inclined to challenge it as something of a sport. The more effective teachers also exhibited markedly superior skills in monitoring all classroom behavior, intervening in positive ways to redirect student misbehavior to prevent the need for disciplinary action and to reinforce desirable behavior. These teachers consistently manifested more "with-it-ness," whereas the less effective teachers often appeared unaware of misbehavior because their attention was focused on one or a few children in individualized teaching.

In Mr. Williams' and Ms. Baker's classrooms, the children often indicated that they perceived the teacher's disciplinary action as quite arbitrary because of its inconsistency. Consequently, something of a sport developed as individuals played at misbehavior, gambling on the chance of not getting caught. Ms. Baker, in particular, perhaps misapplied the principle of behavior modification, which calls for ignoring inappropriate behavior. She periodically would allow a rather chaotic level of disruptive activity to develop until she reached the "blowing" point. She often failed to follow through with threats of negative consequences for undesired behavior, so students tended not to regard her actions as serious.

In addition to exhibiting greater "with-it-ness," Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia effectively used more minor control tactics to keep students on a constructive, productive path of activity. In these teachers' classrooms, misbehavior was also prevented through the accurate assessment of educational needs and the design of appropriate learning activities, as well as teacher communication of positive expectations for student success. These more successful teachers engaged their students in frequent analysis of why difficulties occurred, and how problems could be prevented. When conflict occurred, they tended to confront the basic problem and engage the children in examining the causes, alternatives, and possible future prevention of such conflict. Most conflict resolution was with small groups or individuals rather than with the entire class. Mr. Lewis found whole class discussions relatively ineffective, and Ms. Garcia tended to lecture when she held what she called "class meetings." Neither teacher used class meetings for social problem solving in which the students actively participated in the process, and it is assumed that such activities would have further increased the effectiveness of these teachers.

The discriminating factor was the effort of Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia to help children understand the reasons for inappropriateness of specific behavior and the need for change in a positive direction. Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker tended to respond to misbehavior (reported or observed) by exclusion, i.e., sending the student to the office or outside the classroom. No substantial effort was made to help the child reason through the problem.

None of the teachers recorded behavior frequencies for use in evaluating student progress or the effectiveness of alternative strategies. Only Mr. Lewis systematically collected any information about his individual students to use in a preventive way. He asked his children to fill out daily Biorhythm Charts, which told him how they felt, how they planned to

act with others in the class, and how they planned to do their work that day. He used the charts to pick up on special needs which might warrant modification of assignments, procedures, or personal interaction with the child. This unusual technique enabled him to individualize and personalize beyond subject matter content.

Certainly a major method of preventing inappropriate behavior is the use of a motivating, rewarding curriculum that engages the child's interest and sustains it. This factor will be discussed in the next section.

Implementing the Curriculum

There are four aspects of implementing a curriculum which influence the social and emotional development of students: (a) development of student motivation to achieve; (b) selection of curriculum and strategies which contribute to student feelings of pride, success, self esteem; (c) provision of opportunities for social interaction and skills development in the classroom; and (d) development of skills of self evaluation. The two sets of Project teachers were easily discriminated along these categories of teacher behavior.

Motivation. First of all, the more effective teachers utilized a variety of techniques to create student desire for task engagement--e.g., relating the task to their personal interests, confronting them with a challenging problem, questioning them to generate interest. Secondly, task engagement was sustained by the effective use of a variety of methods and materials, many of which elicited the active involvement of students through movement, discussion, questioning, manipulating materials, or problem solving. Those teachers included more student interests in their planning and attempted to make the curriculum visibly relevant to the students' needs. The total curriculum was more balanced, including regular times for the arts and self expression, which were not regarded simply as rewards for completed academic work.

The children in Mr. Lewis' and Ms. Garcia's classrooms were more motivated to participate and achieve in the curriculum, partly as a result of their involvement in planning. For example, the students in Mr. Lewis' classroom set up, operated, and maintained a classroom store which served as a mini-lesson in economics education. Ms. Garcia invited her students to make "Ojos" (God's Eyes) to sell for substantial profit. These financed special purchases and/or field trips for the class. Both teachers seemed to strive to establish a well-defined structure of contingencies and expectations which would allow the students maximum freedom and flexibility in learning. Mr. Lewis achieved this most fully, including extensive involvement of the children in structuring the environment (e.g., choosing where and with whom to sit). Ms. Garcia also spoke of her creative, dramatic flair, which she skillfully employed to gain attention and motivate students.

The strategies used by Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia were significantly different from those employed by Mr. Willimas and Ms. Baker. The less effective teachers tended to maintain and, at times, struggle to maintain more teacher control, and to effect a more rigid structure. The curriculum was much more routine, with little variation. The teachers indicated little knowledge of alternatives and, consequently, did not seem to modify curriculum or instruction to better meet individual needs. More frequently, children did not complete their assigned work because of (a) a lack of motivation to engage in more of the same, old curriculum activities, and (b) a lack of incentives, such as free time or special activities. The inappropriateness of the work for some individuals, in content and level of difficulty, was another factor that may have hindered teacher effectiveness.

The selection of curriculum and instructional strategies. As has been said, the less effective teachers did not manifest knowledge of alternatives, did not provide variety which would create some anticipation of new

experiences, and made assignments which frequently led to tasks too difficult or boring for students to complete. Without pride in their work and a knowledge that effort would bring success, students often failed to put forth much effort. These teachers' responses to student "laziness" tended to be threats of no rewards, punishment, poor grades, or future failure in school and life. It appeared that there was nothing in the curriculum and instruction of those two classrooms to significantly enhance student self esteem.

In contrast, Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia included more learning activities in which students could be successful and, therefore, feel proud. The teachers exhibited flexibility and knowledge of alternatives in adapting methods and materials for individual needs. They more frequently encouraged students to make choices and decisions relative to the curriculum or problem solving tasks. Mr. Lewis particularly stressed questioning and the development of listening and thinking skills. Students seemed motivated by the blend of challenge and success. Pride in their accomplishments enhanced self esteem and motivated further participation. The arts especially provided for self enhancement through the rewarding experiences of self expression and individual creativity.

Opportunities for social development. The third distinction between the two sets of teachers related to student opportunities for social interaction and skills development as planned for in the selected curriculum and instructional strategies. Mr. Lewis most fully utilized small group work and peer tutoring for social as well as academic learning. All students were eligible to tutor or help classmates, and the teacher used this responsibility to develop leadership skills as well as educational abilities. This is in contrast to the practices of Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker, in which peer tutoring was only used as a reward for a small group of students, usually high achievers. Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker seldom had any form of class

discussion which involved students listening to the ideas of others and thinking together about questions or problems related to subject matter. The frequent opportunities in Mr. Lewis' and Ms. Garcia's classrooms for social interaction in group work, discussions, and in helping one another with academic tasks seemed to effectively reduce students' need for other kinds of "off-task" social interactions, and also allow social skills and leadership abilities to develop.

Development of skills of self evaluation. The extent to which teachers carefully evaluated individual needs and their own decisions regarding methods and curriculum, and fostered student self evaluation seemed to significantly influence student attitudes toward self and school. Where teachers were more frequently engaged in self evaluation and diagnosis of student needs, students seemed more motivated to participate, more apt to enjoy the personal rewards of success, and more likely to develop positive attitudes toward self and the school experience. Perhaps most important was the use of student self evaluation. Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker almost always controlled evaluation, giving the student or class feedback regarding the adequacy of their performance according to teacher expectations. Even when student self evaluation occurred, these teachers tended to control a student's conclusion to the point of rejecting the self evaluation as inaccurate if it differed from their own.

Ms. Garcia engaged the students in self evaluation mostly to assess points earned over a period of days or weeks. Less often she used it with students in social problem solving. However, Mr. Lewis continuously engaged the students in self evaluation related to all aspects of the school experience. And, in the process, he imparted the values of honesty and accountability. Continuous use of student self evaluation conveyed respect to

each student and developed personal responsibility within him/her. As well as imparting values, the process helped the student to clarify his/her values in relation to learning experiences. One can expect the effects of this type of strategy to be enhanced self esteem and increased personal confidence and self management.

In summary, the more effective teachers in the study used a variety of methods and materials in implementing the curriculum. Their curriculum was designed to increase student motivation to participate and achieve, to provide for successful experiences in problem solving and decision making, and to develop the social skills of students.

Teaching and Planning for Socioemotional Development

Although classroom teachers today are generally aware of the importance of student self esteem and social development for overall student achievement, few plan systematically for socioemotional development or continually evaluate their decisions and behavior in relation to social and emotional effects on students. The two more effective teachers in this study more frequently reflected such considerations in their planning and teaching. By far the most effective in this area of competence was Mr. Lewis, who, having many "hyperactive" students, emphasized their socioemotional development as a prerequisite to academic achievement. His thinking was consistent with Maslow's hierarchy of needs, which suggests that students are not free to center their psychological energy on intellectual activities when they are preoccupied with feelings of low self esteem and social isolation. The ethnographer, data analysts, and teacher believed this emphasis was effective and ultimately led to greater academic achievement. Mr. Lewis indicated that, without the acute socioemotional needs of the particular individuals in his class, this emphasis probably would have been considerably less.

Skills in providing for the socioemotional needs of students will be discussed in the following subsections on how teachers' verbal and nonverbal communication affects self esteem, and how teachers intentionally design and implement instruction for social development. Even though Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia more frequently exhibited skills in this category, perhaps a more significant characteristic they exhibited was an awareness and concern about the self concepts and self esteem of their students. That awareness seemed to permeate their planning, behavioral management, and evaluation on a continuous basis. Both teachers readily modified plans to accommodate special social and emotional needs of individuals and/or the group. Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker tended to ignore social needs and to assume that academic achievement, via good study and work habits, would satisfy the emotional/self concept needs.

Teacher communication affecting student self esteem. The child's cognitive picture of him/herself (i.e., self concept) is very important, but even more important for total development is the accompanying sense of worth (i.e., self esteem) attached to that picture. For purposes of discussion, let us assume that references to self esteem include impact on self concepts which result in changes in self esteem.

Teacher communication occurs verbally and nonverbally, intentionally and unintentionally. Most of the time communication is a combination of verbal and nonverbal messages. Significant communication which affects self esteem conveys to the child the relative degree of respect, acceptance, affection, and value the communicator holds for the child. It is assumed that Mr. Lewis and, to a lesser extent, Ms. Garcia frequently conveyed respect and acceptance through their enjoyment of informal conversation with students; their ability to admit error and to apologize; their encouragement of student initiation, self management, and leadership. The message of high

positive regard was also sent in these teachers' more frequent questioning, listening to the students in discussion, praising for efforts and accomplishments, and respect for decisions or choices they made. The fact that these teachers did not veto a child's self evaluation communicated genuine respect.

The affirming communication was possible because of the teachers' genuine affection and respect for all of their students. It seemed likely that the students sensed its genuine nature and did not feel manipulated by teacher reinforcement. Mr. Lewis particularly communicated a feeling of equality with the students, and the amount of confidence he had in their decisions (e.g., use of "free time") validated that conveyed respect.

The genuine respect and affection Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia held for their students were evidenced also in their nonverbal communication. In addition to words to convey positive regard, there were many incidents of touching and eye contact to communicate affection or acceptance, and sitting or stooping to talk on an equal level. Listening with evident interest to student ideas and creative self expression, and body language that suggested relaxed enjoyment of interaction were also significant communicators. Encouraging and rewarding self initiation, management, and expression were additional communicators of respect and acceptance.

Generally, these forms of positive teacher communication were infrequent in Mr. Williams' and Ms. Baker's classroom. Verbal and body language tended to be used by Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker to repeatedly assert authority and control, often by way of harsh, rather punitive criticism. All four teachers, at least on some occasions, made comments which seemed demeaning to a child being punished. However, these comments occurred only rarely with Mr. Lewis, only on especially "bad" days with Ms. Garcia, but rather frequently with Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker. These less effective teachers

were not often reported as affectionately touching students or relating to them in a personal manner of friendship. Ms. Baker, however, thought she had a good relationship with her students and believed she fostered positive self concepts.

Teaching for social development. Mr. Lewis and Ms. Garcia were more inclined toward intentional social instruction than were Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker. In the classrooms of the less effective teachers, there was almost no intentional communication of social values or preparation for social responsibility and leadership. Again, Mr. Lewis was the most illustrative of competence in this area.

Intentional instruction for social development occurred in a variety of ways in Mr. Lewis' classroom. There was frequent communication of social values, such as showing respect and assuming responsibility for each member of the group. Sharing and cooperation were encouraged and group cohesion was intentionally nurtured. Mr. Lewis informally and formally provided interactive experiences which contributed to the development of cohesiveness within small groups who worked together; between racial groups, and throughout the entire class (which was a representative multiethnic classroom). This rather unique teacher skillfully utilized dyadic and small-group exercises to increase sensitivity to and empathy with self and others, and awareness of and ability in nonverbal as well as verbal communication. He used role playing and drama to develop personal and social understanding, and read literature about people overcoming obstacles to realize their unique worth, creating student awareness of the importance of personal and social values in successful living.

Mr. Lewis, and to a lesser extent Ms. Garcia, developed in students the social values of hard work, striving for pride in products, and being an independent, responsible decision maker. Students were encouraged to make

choices and become increasingly self managing. Through the "economic education" projects of the classroom store and the making and selling of Ojos, students were able to integrate these values by experiencing financially rewarding accomplishment. Through these opportunities for self management and group projects, leadership abilities were cultivated also.

In summary, the more effective teachers highly valued the social and emotional development of their students and, regardless of the learning activity in which they were engaged, were sensitive to the implications for that area of growth. Mr. Lewis was most skilled in designing specific educational activities which contributed to increased social sensitivity and responsibility. Both teachers conveyed a firm set of ethics by which behavior was evaluated, and a passionate concern for the individual welfare of group members was evident.

Skills for Relating to Parents and Citizens in the Community

Comparisons of the four teachers' competencies were far less definitive. Mr. Lewis, who was most effective as evaluated on the criteria used in this study, invited parent input and encouraged cooperation, but once he provided the invitation he did not feel it was the best investment of his time to pursue relationships with parents who were unresponsive. He focused his energies on preparations for his classroom teaching.

Ms. Garica was most competent in this category, but perhaps by accident more than design. She had lived and taught in the community for many years, was of the same race as members of the community (Mexican American), and was regarded as one of the community for whom citizens had great respect. Through relationships with families, she often had known her students for many years before teaching them. In describing individual students, she frequently referred to siblings and social events in which she interacted as a

friend with the families. Thus, she had an especially positive influence on the children and the parents, as well as on other citizens of the community.

All four teachers desired good communication with parents and were aware of the homes and communities from which the students came. They seemed to adjust expectations for individuals based on that information. However, the content of the protocols in this study did not indicate how skillful each teacher was in systematically collecting information from the home and community on the students' educational needs, in communicating student progress in parent conferences, or in soliciting community and parental support or participation in the educational programs of their schools. Some recommendations for teacher education that develops greater competence in home/community relations will be made in Part IV, although they should be considered only partial suggestions because of the limited findings of this study.

Conclusions

The more effective teachers in the classrooms of this study were distinctly different than the less effective teachers in their approaches to behavior management, in their skills of implementing curriculum, and in their primary emphasis on the socioemotional development of students. Specific teacher behaviors have been identified which seemed to contribute to these teachers' greater effectiveness in creating classroom environments in which students enjoyed learning; felt successful and accepted; developed more positive self concepts and a greater sense of worth; and became more sensitive, cooperative, and responsible in social relations. Skills for self management and effective participation as members of groups were carefully developed and rewarded. Values of social responsibility, sensitivity, trustworthiness, respect for individuals, and cultural diversity were affirmed in these classrooms. The environments were relaxed, productive, clearly structured, flexible, and generally

full of positive feelings.

In contrast, Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker tended to be more rigid, controlling, negative, and focused on work habits and academic achievement. The environments of their classrooms were tenser, with a disruptive amount of off-task behavior and negative feelings expressed, and varying degrees of conflict. The teachers differed in the amount of rigidity, structure, and individualization, but neither produced the harmonious, cooperative classroom environments which generated high productivity and good feelings about self and others. There was no degree of cohesion in these classrooms, and the teachers were most concerned about the lack of work habits and low achievement, rather than individual and group self images and social skills.

In varying degrees, the protocols of all four classrooms were found weak in six ways. None of the teachers systematically recorded any classroom behavior for use in evaluation of progress or outcomes of teacher decisions. It is believed that all four teachers could have increased student motivation to participate in learning activities. This could have been done by explaining the relevance of the curriculum to the students' needs or interests, involving the children in planning and selecting from alternatives for learning experiences, and providing more time for children to develop skills for pursuing their own interests.

All teachers at times were guilty of resorting to the use of demeaning comments to punish individuals for misbehavior, rather than using less potentially damaging alternatives. Also, all four teachers seemed to lack skill in conducting class meetings for purposes of engaging collectively in evaluation or social problem solving. Mr. Lewis most often used dyads and small groups for such purposes, but felt whole class discussions were ineffective. It would seem beneficial for students to learn how to function in a larger group, listening to diverse views and opinions, and then arriving at

consensus regarding a plan of action to improve a situation.

It was interesting that all four teachers indicated that they felt no personal need for inservice opportunities, as those were being provided by the district. The only assistance any of them seemed interested in was aid and support to pursue their own self-selected activities to acquire knowledge or skills they felt they needed. Little response was gained from the teachers on the subject of inservice education. However, from the analysis of teacher and student behavior within these classrooms, some specific recommendations for teaching training, preservice or inservice, will be offered in the next section.

PART IV: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR TEACHER TRAINING

Three basic questions will be addressed in the set of recommendations emerging from this analysis of the data collected on the four teachers in the MESE Project:

1. How should technical assistance or inservice education be provided to teachers?
2. What are the critical areas of skill development that seem necessary in general teacher education, as evidenced in classroom practices which seem to discriminate between relatively successful and ineffective classroom teachers?
3. Are there knowledge and skills specifically required for effective teaching in multiethnic school environments?

These recommendations represent an integration of the perceptions and knowledge of the classroom teachers, the ethnographers, and the data analysts involved in this study. The accuracy of the recommendations has been increased by the additional integration of research findings related to teacher effectiveness and the application of relevant psychological theories.

1. The Process of Providing Technical Assistance or Inservice Education

The relative ineffectiveness of traditional modes of inservice education has been well established (Edenfelt and Johnson; 1975). The usual workshop format, with heavy emphasis on lecture and discussion, has proved to have only very limited impact on the teaching behavior of participants. Teachers generally do not report that inservice offerings provided by colleges or school districts are of significant value. Rather consistently they criticize them for a heavy amount of verbiage or intellectualism, and a lack of direct relationship to the specific practical needs of teachers. Therefore, if teachers are going to be assisted in their professional growth, the reasons

for past ineffectiveness of traditional approaches must be addressed and more promising methods of providing assistance utilized. The following model is recommended in recognition of past failures to adequately serve teacher needs.

A Recommended Model

Assistance to teachers must be based on the identified needs of individual teachers and include a variety of ways by which teachers may increase their knowledge and skills. A model which addresses these needed conditions involves a cycle of four steps. Figure 1-1, which appears on page 77, illustrates this four-step cycle.

a. Teacher self evaluation includes the collection of feedback from students, colleagues, and parents of students, as well as systematic self study. Teachers need to be skilled in examining the relationship between their specific teaching practices, attitudes, and social interaction with students and evidence of student academic achievement, attitudes toward self and school, and social behavior.

b. External teacher evaluation by the principal (or another supervisor with recognized expertise in teaching). The principal observes the teacher at least three or four times during the year, provides feedback and counsel, shares in problem solving with the teacher, and provides a formal evaluation of the teacher's performance based on mutually-established goals and objectives for his/her professional growth.

c. A professional development contract. The teacher and principal develop each year, through discussion of their independent evaluations, a contract stating mutually agreed-upon goals and objectives for the teacher's professional development during the subsequent 12-month period. No more than one to three major goals should be undertaken per year. The principal guides the teacher in selecting from alternatives how he/she will develop greater skills

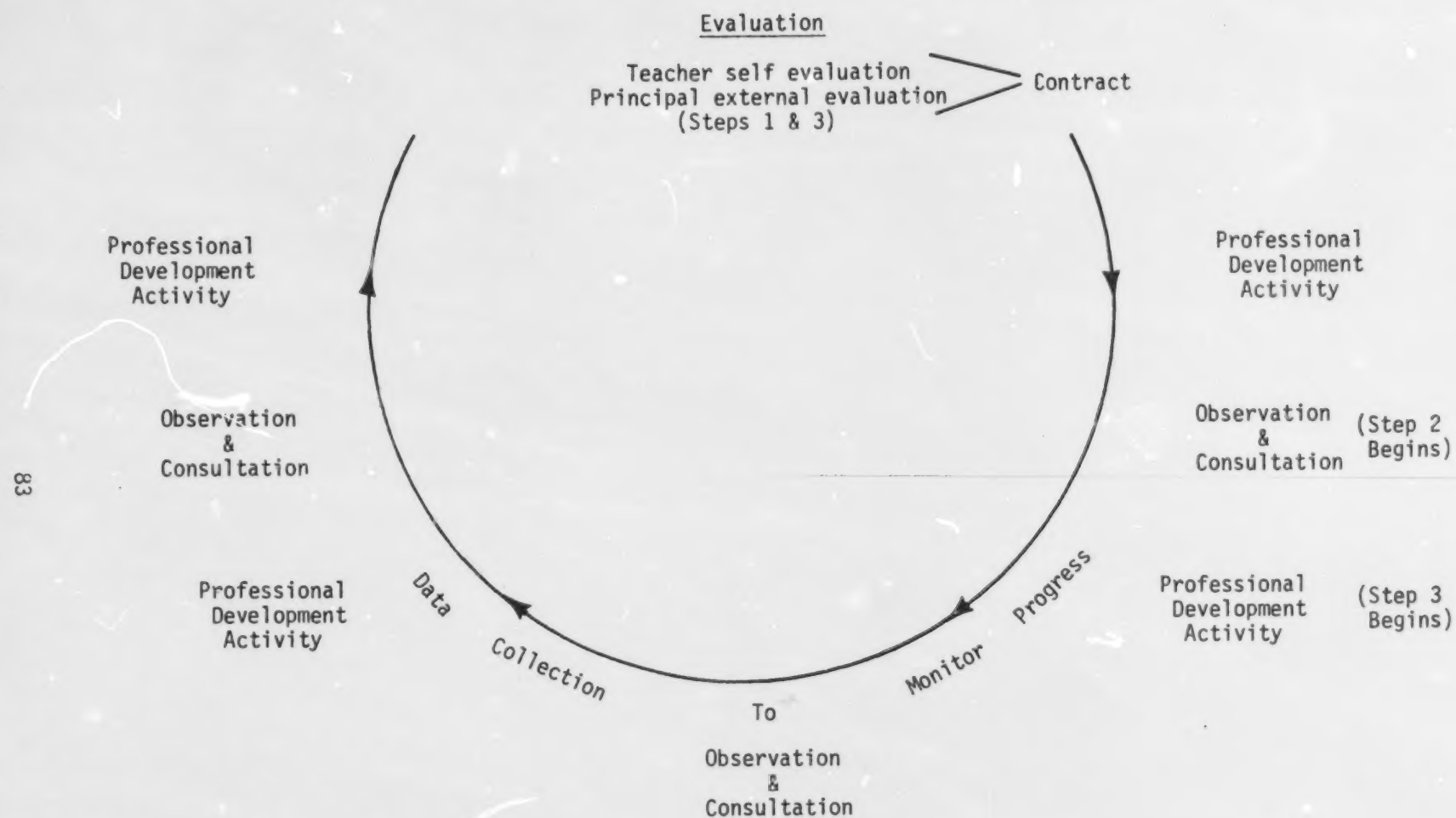


Figure 1-1: Diagram of a Model for Teacher Inservice or Technical Assistance

in the identified areas in order to attain his/her objectives. Alternative procedures should include: district inservice workshops, college courses, programs in which a teacher can observe and assist master teachers (with expertise related to the teacher's goals) and master teachers can work with the teacher in his/her classroom, and other resources such as interdistrict development plans which may be modified during the year.

d. Ongoing and post-evaluation. As the principal observes the teacher during the following year, he/she requests information regarding the teacher's monitoring of her/his own skill development, and conducts a formal evaluation at the end of the 12-month period in conjunction with the teacher's self-evaluation of progress toward the objectives.

The rationale for this recommended process is to increase: (a) the motivation of teachers to participate, (b) the perceived relevance of the assistance to the teachers' daily professional needs, (c) accountability associated with teacher training, and (d) competent and sensitive support to the teacher seeking professional development. Needless to say, an unthreatening school climate and a competent administrative staff are prerequisites to the implementation of this model. Furthermore, administrators must make a conscientious effort to develop and utilize meaningful reward systems for teachers participating in professional development activities. The district is expected to draw widely from professional resources to effect the model, including federally funded laboratories and institutions of professional development.

2. Critical Areas of Skill Development in General Teacher Education

There are four areas of skill development which consistently suggest discriminatory characteristics of either highly effective or relatively ineffective teachers in elementary classrooms:

- a. Methods of controlling student classroom behavior;
- b. Specific skills related to implementation of the curriculum;
- c. Skills in planning and teaching which affect the socioemotional development of children;
- d. Skills for working with homes and the community.

a. Behavior Control Techniques

Although teachers generally have some knowledge of behavior modification techniques, it seems that less successful teachers frequently manifest misunderstandings of the key concepts and, therefore, misuse the techniques. Clear understanding of behavioral principles, and supervised practice in the application of the principles in both the management of individuals and groups are needed.

Misunderstanding and misuse of behavior control techniques are frequently found in four categories: (1) selecting and granting rewards, (2) ignoring inappropriate behavior, (3) systematic record keeping, and (4) the use of verbal and nonverbal punishment.

1. Rewards. For rewards to be effective motivators of desired behavior, students must perceive them as personally meaningful, attainable, and available upon the completion of a contract or when clearly specified contingencies are met. Teachers need greater skill in involving students in the selection of meaningful rewards, making clear the conditions under which rewards will be given, consistently rewarding only those students who meet specified contingencies, and avoiding unnecessary delay in the granting of rewards.

Teachers should be encouraged to provide educational activities and free time as rewards (i.e., application of the Premack Principle), rather than using only candy and trinkets. When elective learning activities are used as rewards, there is an additional pay-off to the teacher: increased student motivation to participate and learn in the classroom as a result of enjoying the arts, sciences, and free time to explore their interests. In these activities self esteem may be enhanced as new abilities unfold, including the capability for self direction. Some teachers withdraw those aspects of the curriculum as penalties for incomplete work in the basic skills, a practice which may kill any remaining enthusiasm for the classroom curriculum.

A related training need is for teachers to increase their skills in assessing individual abilities and needs so that individual contracts make the rewards attainable by all class members. It seems that relatively standard assignments or unrealistically high teacher expectations often result in many or most children failing to succeed under the teacher's reward system. Consequently, many children give up on striving to earn rewards and, hence, develop self concepts as losers. The teacher's positive approach to management becomes negative in its effects.

2. Ignoring inappropriate behavior. In the name of implementing behavior modification principles, some teachers can lose a significant amount of classroom control by ignoring behavior. These teachers tend to focus on one or a few children with whom they are working and ignore the rest of the students. Such a pattern creates a sense of great freedom for students, and misbehavior can be enjoyed with only the necessary payment of occasional public criticism or punishment. Teachers must understand that, for these principles to be effective, there must be consistent rewards for desirable

behavior. And, those rewards--academic and social in nature--must be more rewarding than the social interaction enjoyed in off-task behavior. To effectively implement behavior modification, the teacher must be skilled in monitoring all classroom behavior to maximize the consistency of reinforcement for appropriate behavior, and in intervening to terminate misbehavior, when necessary.

3. Record keeping. Most teachers seem to lack skill in systematically implementing the principles of behavior modification, especially record keeping. Simple methods of monitoring and recording the frequencies of child behavior, both desirable and undesirable, for teacher and student use in evaluation are available for teachers to learn. Without such objective data collection, the method will be less effective.

4. Punishment. Regular classroom teachers seldom reflect an understanding of "Time Out" as a method of punishment, and generally resort to criticism, often public and harsh, or withdrawal of rewarding aspects of the school experience as punishment. Some teachers use visits to the principal or school counselor for punishment, or call parents. Clear understanding of the role of punishment, how to select an effective punishment, when to use it and how to incorporate it as a clear contingency for specific misbehavior needs to be included in teacher training. Most punishment by teachers is public and verbal, which may violate behavior modification principles by reinforcing attention to individuals and/or producing negative effects on individual self concepts and group self image.

It is disconcerting how many teachers seem to believe they are using positive methods of behavior management and have developed a pattern in which rewards are the club waved over the heads of students in a threatening manner, and punishment--harsh criticism, or withdrawal of recess, enjoyable activities

(e.g., art, music, P.E.) or privileges (e.g., tutoring, field trips)--is so frequent that it becomes ineffective. The management techniques then become far from positive. Furthermore, this degenerative form of behavior modification can destroy academic motivation while fostering negative student self concepts as "losers." It is imperative that teachers know how to accurately employ behavioral principles in a reinforcing classroom environment in which effective classroom organization, motivating curriculum, and teacher attitudes contribute to the prevention of undesirable pupil behavior.

b. Implementing the Curriculum

The second area of skill development in teacher education includes a wide range of factors influencing the effectiveness of curriculum implementation for individuals and groups. Those skills, which are highly interrelated, are briefly described below.

1. Diagnosing/assessing individual curricular needs. The teacher determines each student's instructional needs in basic skills and in other educational experiences--such as science, social studies, health, music, art, physical education. This skill area includes constructing criterion-referenced tests as pre and post measures of learning, interpreting scores on standardized tests, and using informal as well as formal methods of assessment.

2. Structuring the environment and planning for optional learning. Given the assessed needs of individuals in the class, the effective teacher clusters individuals for small-group work, organizes the classroom so that students can work well independently or in groups, and selects and adapts both methods and materials to make them appropriate for individual students. The curriculum is carefully planned by the master teacher to maximize student feelings of success and pride.

3. Making clear the expectations, standards, and procedures. Effective teachers clearly establish with the students standards for work and social behavior, expectations for self management and products of work periods, and procedures for carrying out various responsibilities. Periods of waiting for directions for the "next step," anxiety over what the teacher expects on assignments, and uncertainty as to the procedure for completing a task are avoided. This clear structure is the framework for an effective reward and contract system of pupil accountability.

4. Knowing alternatives and resources in teaching so that there are a variety of methods, materials, and learning modes utilized throughout the curriculum. Effective use of media, various types of curriculum "packages," and diverse teaching strategies are reliable indicators of teaching effectiveness. The teachers having greatest difficulty with student behavior and achievement generally have reduced the school experience to routine drill in the basic skills--workbooks, practice sheets, and tests in reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic. The same schedule and teaching methods occur every day, with most of the students' time spent in independent practice work. Interaction in groups is only occasional, and there is no student anticipation of unexpected, exciting new experiences in learning. Effective teachers create interest, anticipation, and excitement through variety, flexibility, and special events.

5. Motivating students for task engagement. Teachers with smooth routines, centered on excessive amounts of independent practice work in the three Rs, seem to consistently assume that intrinsic student motivation for task engagement exists, and they do not utilize techniques to motivate achievement behavior. Generally, the only motivation created is related to earning rewards or preventing the loss of privileges that are valued. Those

teachers experience limited feelings of success. More successful teachers prepare students for each learning activity by using a variety of effective motivating strategies.

6. Helping children see the relevance of the curriculum to their present and future needs by planning for their application and use of the knowledge and skills required. The most effective teachers recognize this as a major source of student motivation--i.e., having the students see the practical value of learning, or its ability to bring personal rewards of competence, pleasure, or convenience.

7. Planning for the active involvement of children in learning. Behavior problems and low achievement seem most prevalent in classrooms where students are not mentally and physically engaged in the process of learning. Teachers with few problems and high student achievement seem to heighten motivation, sustain attention, and increase learning by involving the students in active thinking--i.e., responding to questions, explaining, expressing personal opinions and ideas, solving problems. These teachers teach not only facts but concepts and principles, while also teaching children how to think and solve problems or pursue their own interests. They also plan for physical movement through the manipulation of objects, transition procedures, and alternation of active and quiet work periods. Classrooms with the most disruptive or off-task behavior tend to be those with little opportunity for students to move, other than to sharpen a pencil or wander around to visit friends. Those students also are expected to do page after page of routine work with little opportunity to discuss, engage in inquiry or problem solving, or to explain a concept or principle to see if they really understand it.

8. Evaluating constantly--informally and formally. Many teachers tend to evaluate only in terms of test scores and the accuracy of daily work

completed. Improved skills are needed in evaluating classroom behavior, the relative effectiveness of various teaching strategies, the appropriateness of the curriculum, and the classroom organization for learning. The constant process of monitoring and evaluating the effectiveness of curriculum and instruction leads to the testing of alternatives to increase achievement.

c. Planning and Teaching to Facilitate Socioemotional Growth

Teachers need to be aware that all that happens in the classroom impacts on the socioemotional development of each child as he/she develops perceptions and expectations of self. Effective teachers carefully select strategies and intentionally structure experiences to positively influence the developing self concepts of children and the related sense of self worth. Teachers should attend to this need on a group as well as individual basis. Groups, particularly socially stratified or segregated groups, develop a self image which can powerfully influence the behavior and feelings of group members.

Although there is much overlapping of the two categories of socioemotional development (individual and group), teacher skills will be outlined in terms of: (a) the development of student self concepts and self esteem; (b) the development of social understanding and skills.

1. The development of self concepts and self esteem. An individual's self perceptions and feelings are shaped through social interaction in which the child expresses his/herself and assimilates social feedback from others as to the nature and adequacy of that self. School, therefore, is a primary source of information to the child about his/her potential success and worth in society.

It has been well established that there is a significant relationship between a child's self concept and achievement in school. The correlation is strongest in the relationship between self concept for school subjects and records of academic achievement. Success experiences in school--socially and

academically--have positive effects on self perceptions, and perceived failure in school can have very detrimental effects on self esteem if not adequately balanced with success experiences.

To more positively influence the self concepts and self esteem of students, teachers must become more aware of their nonverbal and verbal behavior which affect the feelings and self perceptions of individuals and groups. A sample of ways in which teachers may communicate to positively or negatively affect self perceptions and feelings is outlined below.

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
N	touching	avoiding contact
O	eye contact	ignoring
N	listening	cutting off child's self expression
V	smiles	frowns, scowls
E	child given responsibility	teacher maintains rigid control
R	given choices, allowed to make decisions	teacher maintains rigid control
B	"good" grades, test scores	"poor" grades, test scores
A		
L	_____	_____
V	asking questions, inviting self expression, elaboration of ideas	always telling answers, cutting off student self expression
E		
R	conveying respect, revealing humanness	preponderance of criticism, rigid or harsh controls
B	student initiation and self direction encouraged	public communication of student's failure to meet expectations
A		
L	acceptance of errors as a necessary part of learning	expectation of no errors, exerts pressure for perfection
	informal conversation shows enjoyment of affiliation	rejection conveyed

(cont.)

	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
V E R B A L	direct teacher communication of belief in ability and worth of child, affirmation	comments of criticism which devalue sense of worth; sarcasm, ridicule
	praise and recognition of accomplishments or contributions	frequent punishment, especially isolation or expulsion

Of course, successfully solving problems, mastering skills and knowledge, and engaging in creative productivity enhance student self esteem. Feelings of social and academic competence, which predict future success, are essential to the development of high motivation and self esteem. Teachers need assistance in continually assessing and improving their verbal and nonverbal behavior.

2. The development of social understanding and skills. Teachers must be adept in assisting students to develop social skills. Three principal areas students need assistance in are: communication; self direction, self evaluation, and leadership; and cooperative citizenship. These skills help students to become responsible citizens and develop effective social relationships.

(a) Skills of communication. Teachers need to be skilled in increasing the ability of students to send and receive messages, as well as to respond appropriately to communication from others. Classrooms of the most effective teachers are distinguished by frequent discussions, and class meetings for social problem solving, role playing and drama. Discussions occur in all subject areas, but social needs can be particularly addressed in literature discussions and when matters of interest to members of the class are brought up. Critical to the effectiveness of these discussions are the teacher's skills of questioning and listening and of teaching the students to listen, think, and appropriately respond to the ideas of others. Through these experiences genuine feelings of individual acceptance and valuing diversity in the group can be nourished.

Class meetings are student-centered, but teacher-guided discussions can focus on social problems within the classroom or school. They may lead to group consensus on standards, procedures, and methods of self governance. Role playing or dramatization may be used to increase social understanding of and empathy with others, awareness of group dynamics, and appreciation of individual differences.

(b) Skills for self direction, self evaluation, and leadership. In order for students to develop these abilities, the teacher must be able to teach them how to set goals, plan to meet their goals, and evaluate their efforts. The teacher must know how to allow the students to make choices in formulating contracts and selecting from available alternatives, and hold students accountable for continual improvement in self-management skills. Student initiation of ideas or activities is recognized by master teachers as leadership potential, and skillful teachers can often help students recognize the tension between the individual and the group, or the leader and followers. How to assert leadership with sensitivity toward individuals in the group is also an important skill for the teacher to know how to develop in students.

(c) Skills for cooperative citizenship. Teachers who plan almost exclusively for teacher presentation of information followed by independent practice work experience the most difficult management problems and lowest levels of student motivation. More effective teachers motivate students through discussions, peer tutoring or helping, and group work. In working together on projects, students are guided by their teacher to develop skills in sharing, cooperatively planning and working, and resolving conflicts constructively. When social needs are met through such planned experiences in the curriculum, off-task social interaction is much less likely to occur.

(d) Skills in Working with the Home and Community Teachers need three basic sets of skills in order to establish and capitalize upon a positive relationship between the classroom, home, and community:

(1) Skills in collecting information about the characteristics and educational needs of the child's home and community, and the school community if it is different from the child's. The teacher needs to make these informal assessments accurately and sensitively.

(2) Skills in communicating with parents and members of the community, especially communicating pupil progress (academic and behavioral) when it is appropriate.

(3) Skills in soliciting community and parental support and participation in the educational programs of the school. Teachers generally lack skills to effectively utilize parent volunteers and employed aides.

The working relationship between the teacher and the students' homes and communities should provide multicultural education as an outgrowth of home/community support and participation in the classroom.

3. Skills and Knowledge Specific to Multiethnic School Environments

The most effective teachers in multiethnic classrooms do not seem to implement a systematic curriculum of multicultural education. They claim that the philosophy of multicultural education permeates the entire curriculum and social interaction within the classroom. Less effective teachers sometimes make the same claim but, in reality, neglect the concerns and values represented in multicultural education.

There seem to be three specific sets of skills which distinguish the more effective teachers in multiethnic classrooms:

a. Skills for affirming the worth of every individual in the class,

and every ethnic or cultural group. The affirmation conveyed is not tolerance or mere acceptance, but rather a genuine prizing of cultural diversity and individuality. Respect and appreciation for all individuals and groups are communicated within a framework of classroom social mores which require empathy, sensitivity, cooperation, and supportive help in social interaction.

b. Skills in recognizing opportunities to confront negative social attitudes, prejudices, and stereotypes, and in constructively helping the children deal with the confrontation. Less effective teachers tend to not recognize such opportunities, or ignore them out of concern for time and meeting the basic instructional goals.

c. Skills in finding and providing positive multiethnic role models for the children. The skillful teacher draws models from the media, newspaper articles, local events, aides, parents, and community citizens.

It appears that these sets of skills most adequately prepare the teacher for success in multiethnic school environments, along with those critical areas of skill development necessary for the general education of teachers (see page 79). It is doubtful that academic study of various cultures would be beneficial; in such study there is danger that stereotypes in the literature will perpetuate or create undesirable generalizations about groups and inaccurate expectations for individuals. However, teachers need a reality-based understanding of: (a) the American socialization system; (b) the social position of minorities; and (c) the fact that American teachers are predominantly white and middle-class. The need for these understandings increases the complexity of preparing teachers for multiethnic school environments.

It would be difficult to develop an inservice teacher training program

which could adequately confront the teachers with the personal prejudices of either teachers or administrators. This program could more appropriately be described as one where the teachers would develop the skills necessary for affirmation of individual pupil characteristics. Although some teachers may have the personal and/or professional experiences which would make them more sensitive to various cultures and racial groupings, a system-wide approach to more than mere awareness requires long-range planning, evaluation, and competent leadership.

It would seem more appropriate to train teachers in psychological theories pertaining to the socioemotional and intellectual development of children, what motivates them, and the social and academic implications of group dynamics. Groups (be they classified by grade, age, sex, or ethnicity or culture) seem to vary in characteristics as much as they share commonalities. The most constructive approach seems to be that of training teachers to view groups as composites of unique individuals, each with significant contributions to make to the rich experience of living and learning together in the classroom. Through studying individual children, the teacher can identify strengths to be brought out and developed as well as weaknesses to be corrected.

Opportunities for constructive student social interaction and the nurturance of socioemotional growth should be a vital part of the teacher's curriculum planning. The teacher's behavior should model and reinforce a multicultural philosophy in which individual uniqueness and cultural diversity are prized. Teacher skills of evaluation should include self evaluation, as effective teachers constantly assess their strengths and weaknesses, set goals for professional development, engage in activities to help themselves reach those goals, and monitor their own progress. These statements summarize the ideational core of these recommendations for inservice education and/or technical assistance to teachers and administrators.

REFERENCES

Rethinking in-service education. R.A. Edenfelt and M. Johnson, eds.
Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1975.

APPENDIX A

CODING SHEET FOR MESE DATA

Classroom # _____

Analyst: _____

DATA SOURCE:

Teacher

Ethnog.

Cl. Prot.

initial interview

Week 3

daily

daily tape

S.R. #1, 2, 3, 5, 6

informal

weekly summary

Other?

Coding: I = individual, G = group

Positive Self Image										Sums	
										I	G
AFF											
RE											
Q/Exp											
CH/D											
COOP											
SD											
SI											
SE											
TE											
PR											
SUC											
POS											
SOC											

Negative Self Image											
										I	G
REJ											
CR											
TC											
ID											
TBR											
IG											
COMP											
PUN											

Social Behavior, Peer Interaction											
										I	G
SHAR											
DIV											
CONF											
RES											
ACC											
INCL											
EXCL											
LEAD											
RESP											
CHAL											
COH											
NEG											
ENTH											
FAIL											

APPENDIX B

Terminology for MESE Coding

Symbol	Category of Teacher Behavior (Target--I or G)
POSITIVE:	
AFF	<u>Affirmation of individual or group worth, value of different-ness, uniqueness; acceptance; affiliation; gestures of affection</u>
RE	<u>Rewards, praise, reinforcement</u>
Q/Exp	<u>Asking questions or providing curriculum to stimulate student self expression, elaboration of ideas, etc.</u>
CH/D	<u>Providing opportunities for students to make choices, decisions</u>
COOP	<u>Encouraging cooperation, sharing</u>
SD	<u>Encouraging opportunities for student self direction, self management; gives responsibility, leadership opportunities</u>
SI	<u>Student initiation encouraged or accepted</u>
SE	<u>Student self evaluation solicited or accepted</u>
TE	<u>Teacher equality; listens, responds, conveys respect to students; reveals humanness (e.g., admitting error)</u>
PR	<u>Engaging children in rewarding problem solving activity</u>
SUC	<u>Providing a sense of success through curriculum and instruction; developing pride in ability</u>
POS	<u>Positive constructive management tactic to discipline, correct behavior, or improve work habits</u>
SOC	<u>Instructing in appropriate social behavior; conveying values, standards</u>
NEGATIVE:	
REJ	<u>Rejection of individuality, cultural differences, or group worth probably communicated</u>
CR	<u>Criticism possibly creating a sense of shame, lack of worth, embarrassment; includes firm discipline that is moderate</u>
TC	<u>Rigid teacher control over decisions, choices, management, evaluation; firm control tactics greater than CR</u>
ID	<u>Student initiation discouraged or rejected</u>
TER	<u>Student self-expression terminated prematurely or rejected or ignored</u>
COMP	<u>Fostering competition among peers</u>
PUN	<u>Harsh punishment or scolding probably causing public humiliation or negative feelings about self or school</u>
Symbol	Student Social Behavior/Peer Interaction
SHAR	<u>Cooperation, sharing, acts of friendship, conflict-free play or work</u>
DIV	<u>Competition mitigating against cohesion, dividing group</u>
CONF	<u>Conflict, fighting that is counterproductive, divisive; disruptive aggression, put-downs, hostile behavior with peers</u>
RES	<u>Conflict resolution developing social problem solving skills</u>
ACC	<u>Acceptance of others' ideas, accomplishments</u>
INCL	<u>Inclusive behavior, invitational</u>
EXCL	<u>Exclusive, alienating behavior (including rejection of ideas, contributions, behavior)</u>
LEAD	<u>Evidence of student leadership</u>
RESP	<u>Independent carrying out of responsibility or work</u>
CHAL	<u>Challenging authority, defiance, rebellion, arguing with teacher</u>
CON	<u>Behavior evidencing or contributing to group cohesion</u>
NEG	<u>Negative attitudes expressed; belligerence, lack of motivation to do task; rude retorts</u>
ENTH	<u>Enthusiasm or very positive attitudes expressed</u>
FAIL	<u>Evidence sense of failure, quit task, students refuse to participate, teacher terminates activity for lack of "success"</u>

NC = Not Coded



Multi- Ethnic School Environments

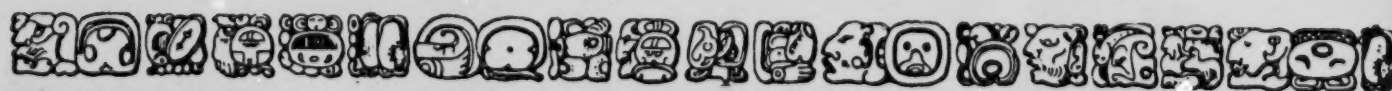
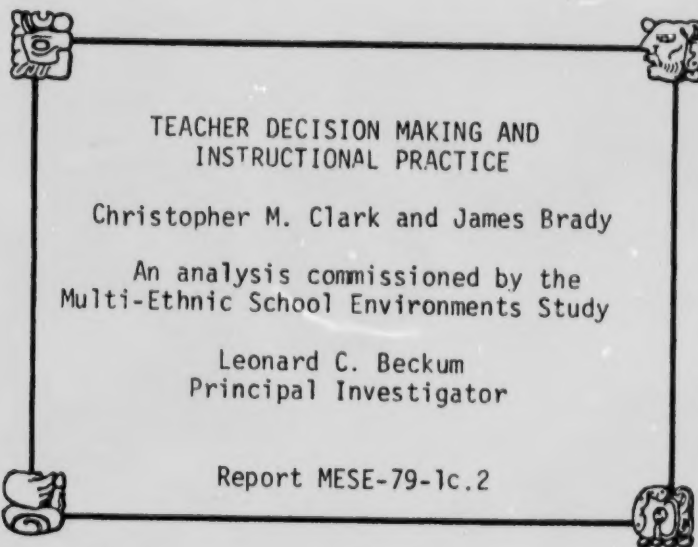


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EDITOR'S PREFACE

Christopher Clark examined the data for the analysis task, and his conclusions and the implications of his analysis are included in this report. Due to time constraints, however, he was able to generate only one case study. James Brady, an anthropologist who is familiar with two of the classrooms in his capacity of ethnographer for the MESE Project study, agreed to write the additional case studies based on Dr. Clark's case study analysis design.

In order to properly indicate authorship of ideas, a format was devised to separate Dr. Clark's and Mr. Brady's contributions. Dr. Clark's contributions for the case study of Mr. Williams' classroom appear in italic typeface, while Mr. Brady's appear in letter gothic. The rest of the report utilizes letter gothic typeface. The case studies for the other three teachers were written by Mr. Brady. The "Implications" were written by Dr. Clark. Mr. Brady's additional comments are contained in an appendix.

The purpose of this analysis report on teacher decision making and instructional practices is to examine the relationship between teachers' beliefs and their subsequent strategies for organizing a learning environment. Dr. Clark's examination of the data began with evaluative summaries of the classroom events garnered from the ethnographic field notes and the teachers' statements about their pedagogical beliefs and classroom practices. Each teachers' beliefs about instruction and classroom management were recorded. Qualitative assessment was then made of the extent to which teachers changed their instructional/management plans in response to the class. Finally, assessments were offered of the social system of the classroom and the efforts a teacher made to encourage social integration.

PART I: ANALYSIS DESIGN

Research on teaching has long been justified by the promise of findings that would improve the preparation and practices of teachers. At the beginning of this report, I want to make it clear that the relationship between research on teaching and teacher education is, in principle, a tenuous one. Teacher education and the practice of teaching cannot and do not wait on the research community to grind out information or confirmation. Teacher education and teaching itself are practical professions, and the wisdom and lore of the practitioners are considerable.

The relationship between research and practice is especially tenuous when the research is of the descriptive sort that characterizes the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project study. Elsewhere (Clark and Yinger, 1979), I have described this kind of research as "conceptual" because the main products of investigation are concepts and ideas suggested by the data that might be of interest or value to the research community and to practitioners. Do not expect detailed prescriptions for how teachers should behave in the classroom--the present study is not an adequate basis for that kind of result.

This report examines the effects of teachers' beliefs and perceptions on their teaching practices. Of particular interest are the topics of teacher planning, judgment, decision making, and implicit theories. The analysis involved a search of the data for evidence of these processes and their operation in multiethnic classrooms.

Thus, this report did not require a complete analysis of all data collected in this study. One of the first tasks in this analysis plan was to reduce the complete data set to a working one of manageable size. Preliminary

examination of a small data sample suggested the working data set for this analysis:

- Primary data--initial interview, exit interview, ethnographer summaries, teacher summaries, portions of field notes
- Secondary data--remainder of field notes
- Tertiary data--background and demographic information

The sequence comprising this analysis was as follows:

- 1) Study the raw data:
 - a) Search the data for phenomena of interest
 - b) Index the data
 - c) Establish working data set
 - d) Construct a working hypothesis or model for description of the classrooms
- 2) Describe the classrooms:
 - a) Describe events during the five weeks of the study that bear on the working hypothesis
- 3) Search the data for disconfirming evidence:
 - a) Re-examine the data set for events that are inconsistent with the working hypothesis; revise the descriptions accordingly
- 4) Answer the following question from the data:
 - a) Given the above descriptions of multiethnic classrooms, what concepts should be taken into account in teacher education for multiethnic classrooms?

In reporting the results of this analysis three aspects of teaching beliefs and practices are examined:

- 1) The relationship between teachers' explicit plans and their implicit theories of teaching
- 2) The relationship between teachers' beliefs and the learning environment which was created
- 3) The sources of changes of teachers' plans

These three themes are treated in detail in Part II of this report -- the classroom case studies. Part III, the comparative conclusions, presents the analyst's personal assessments of the relative merits of the four teachers' approaches. The implications section (Part IV) attempts to place the teachers of this study within the context of what is known about effective teaching. Finally, the appendix provides some alternative discussion by James Brady, the co-author, about the social system of each of the four classrooms.

PART II: CASE STUDIES

A. CASE STUDY OF MR. WILLIAMS' CLASSROOM

Mr. Williams' classroom consisted of 30 black students, 27 of whom were fifth graders and three of whom were fourth graders. The teacher is a black male with a total of 11 years teaching experience, eight being at La Cumbre. The classroom also had one teacher's aide--a woman from the neighborhood who worked from 9:00 a.m. until 12:30 p.m. each day.

Mr. Williams characterized himself as a "traditional" teacher, weak in classroom management and the teaching of reading, and strong in mathematics. This teacher taught most of these students for one hour per day in mathematics the previous year. Hence, the students and the teacher knew each other reasonably well, even at this early stage of the school year (October).

Mr. Williams' impression was that this "is a very good class this year" (p. 16 of initial interview).

Philosophy of Instruction

Mr. Williams did not explicitly describe his philosophy of instruction in great detail. He believed that students best learn basic skills by rote. He provided individualized seatwork to complement small-group instruction.

Instruction

On pages 10 and 11 of the initial interview, the teacher described a five-step cycle which constituted his instructional format.

- 1. The teacher would do a weekly plan over the weekend.*
- 2. The teacher would communicate this plan to the aide in written form on Monday morning.*
- 3. The teacher would do "basic instruction" with small groups.*

4. *The aide would follow up immediately with practice work.*
5. *The aide would communicate to the teacher when some students were not "getting it."*

Mr. Williams held very strongly to the notion of a time line for students to accomplish certain skill objectives related to grade level achievement. He spoke of the class as being "about four weeks behind where they should be" in mid-October, and by the end of the study was expecting the class to be "where they should be by June 15th." He did not expect all students to achieve equally, but assessed what they should be capable of learning given their "ability." Learning was seen as a function of time and effort spent working with concepts.

Reading and mathematics curricular materials were selected by the district. Mr. Williams was concerned about the reading program, which involved stories, skill cards, and testing units of varying levels:

One concern that precedes all others, at this point, is that of the reading programs. The program is new for the upper grades this year, and the resource teacher has not taken the proper steps to inservice the teachers. Work with the program has been a task of trial and error. I made a decision to work closely with the students who are achieving at a higher level so that as they progress, they will be able to help the slower achievers when necessary. I'm also working on a system that may cut down on the amount of time that has been spent daily in correcting books.

Reading and math comprised the morning's activities. As Mr. Williams had indicated in his initial interview, reading was organized in a typical way, with the teacher and his aide working with a reading group and the remainder of the students being assigned to seatwork. After finishing with one reading group, the teacher and the aide provided assistance to students who asked for or seemed to need help with the seatwork.

Mathematics was organized in a similar fashion, except that the teacher frequently substituted whole-class instruction for small-group work. Problems were worked out on the board by the teacher, and then seatwork problems were dictated to the students. Teacher and aide would both individually assist students having problems.

Afternoons consisted of language or spelling independent seatwork, health (involving classroom instruction and reading aloud from a text), and, occasionally, free-play physical education.

The teacher's implicit theory about learning seemed to revolve around the use of time, as demonstrated in the exchanges described below:

10/3

Mr. Williams picks up cards. None of the students know the answers. The teacher, in a stern voice to the students at the aide's table, says, "What are you going to do to learn these multiplication tables?" (pause) "Rich?" (inaudible response) "What about you young lady?" (pause) "Give me a date?" (silence) "What I'm going to do is write letters for you today and send them home with you. You must learn your times tables in one week. I'll give you a week from today to know these. I wouldn't do this except I know you can learn." He turns to Fred seated on his left. "Your problem is football. What do you do after school? Do you clean the backyard? How long does that take? Do you have a dog? What do you do from eight till bedtime?" Fred answers, "I eat." Mr. Williams: "What else do you do? Do you watch TV?" Fred says, "No." Mr. Williams says, "Never?" (and probes). The student says, "Sometimes." Mr. Williams says, "When you're not watching TV, what are you doing? Your problem is that you're a sports fan. That's what you are, a sports fan. What do I do with you, young man? I'm giving you some simple problems--all of you--that I want you to complete. Get your paper ready and I'm going to put problems on the board."

The teacher's solution to the students' learning difficulties was to give them a deadline of one week to master this material. The tone seemed to be accusatory. The implicit theory that time is the essence of learning was consistent with

this teacher's emphasis on seatwork and his attempts to monitor students' behavior so as to keep them on task.

In the speech he made on October 20th to a group of students who are not doing well in math, Mr. Williams again makes it clear that time, cooperation, and compliance are the crucial elements in his implicit theory of learning. The teacher repeatedly told these students that he knew they were capable of learning this material, but that they had been goofing off. He emphasized that they had to learn their times tables because they would not be able to learn division and fractions later in the year unless they knew their times tables.

An awkward and embarrassing incident on the same day with one student (Fred) gives another insight into this teacher's implicit theory of learning. After Mr. Williams publicly mocked Fred's performance, Fred said, "I can't do anything right." The teacher responded, "You don't take your time, that's why." Again it seems that time and effort were the main ingredients in this teacher's concept of how learning occurs.

Clearly Mr. Williams felt that he had to be firm with students who were not putting in adequate time or effort. This view is expressed in two excerpts taken from his daily reports:

10/30

I feel that at this point if more pressure was brought to bear on other students, they would improve in the quality of their assignments.

11/3

During the math period I had a problem with Jack, who said he could not do the math assignment. I refused to help because he had shown through yesterday's homework assignment and individual attention that he understood the process. Jack is the brightest student in the class. I have concluded that this is a way of getting attention. After Jack realized that he was not going to receive any help from me, he got into the assignment and later asked permission to stay in at recess time to complete it.

Problems of Instructional Organization

The primary impression I have of Mr. Williams is that he was trapped within a classroom organization that was not working. The primary activity in this classroom was seatwork. The students often did not understand the directions for seatwork, and the teacher did not anticipate this or handle their questions constructively. The teacher's communication to students of plans and activities appeared to be incomplete. They were heavily dependent on the teacher because he was the only source of information about what they should be doing and what would happen next. There were many management problems that arose because students did not understand what they were supposed to be doing.

In his daily tapes, Mr. Williams frequently addressed the issue of students not knowing directions:

11/2

I told two students yesterday that I would give them instructions on following directions. I worked with them for about 15 minutes with an activity that dealt with following directions. This appears to be a problem with a great majority of students in the classroom--following directions. It's not that they cannot follow directions. The problem is that they do not read the directions. So this is one thing that is going to be stressed and it has been stressed over and over again. They must read directions in order to complete an assignment.

The teacher dealt with the students' lack of understanding by repeating the same incomprehensible directions over and over again. He seemed unable to perceive other methods of communication. In addition to claiming that students did not read directions, Mr. Williams also stated that students asked questions of him in order to gain attention.

The analyst believes that Mr. Williams' problem stemmed from poor instructional planning. Several examples serve to illustrate the teacher's

planning difficulties. On day four, the apparent failure of a spelling activity after lunch might be attributed to the teacher's lack of clarity in communicating the lesson plan. The students really didn't know what to do, and the teacher dealt with this after recess by starting the lesson over. Also, the transitions between subject matters seemed rather abrupt--for example, on day four, "Take out your health books" was the only signal for the transition between spelling and health. On several occasions, Mr. Williams introduced new topics just three minutes before the afternoon recess bell sounded.

It appears that the structure of afternoon activities presented special problems for the teacher. Again, many of the difficulties encountered seemed to stem from the unmanageability of the seatwork system. This system appeared to break down after 12:30, when the aide left for the day. There was a conspicuous absence on the teacher's part of planning or anticipation of difficulties that might arise from the workbook exercises or the teacher's directions. Because so many students either did not understand what was expected of them or needed assistance, the system would break down, students would become bored and unruly, and the teacher would respond with relatively ineffective attempts to restore order.

Mr. Williams recognized that the students had difficulty settling down to do their afternoon assignments. He did not, however, attribute this to the absence of the aide, but rather, to the structure of the tasks:

In the morning the students have a more individualized type of program. The afternoon is quite different--more of a whole group-type of approach to instruction. I am going to change the afternoons, not in terms of curriculum, but in terms of the way the material is presented to the students. Make it more an individualized type of program.

In his third weekly report, Mr. Williams offered another account of the source of the problem with afternoon work. He thought students did not have the "teacher direction and the variety of reading assignments" that they have in the morning work.

It appeared to the analyst that the near total reliance on independent seatwork placed a constant burden on the teacher to monitor and redirect students and to discover unsatisfactory progress. *An indication of how seatwork dominated this classroom organization is given in an incident on day three. The teacher corrected one boy's work and said, "You had the right answer, but you put it in the wrong place. It would have been a correct answer, but you put it in the wrong place. That's your biggest problem." It seems that more emphasis was placed on learning how to interact successfully with a workbook than on learning arithmetic.*

Mr. Williams' desire to get students to work diligently in workbooks was part of his plan to get them to demonstrate progress. By the fifth week of observation, Mr. Williams was pleased to report that after checking all the reading materials (skill packets, level tests, and workbooks) "each was learning or progressing at their ability level."

Philosophy of Classroom Management

Mr. Williams' classroom management practices were exclusively designed to carry out the instructional activities. Students were responsible for getting their work done as well as working during all classroom time, and play was allowed only during recess. Punishments were meted out for off-task behavior in class and fighting on the playground. Other than encouraging remarks made to students who did exemplary work, there were no rewards available for students. Mr. Williams believed that "being responsible" was

an important value for students to learn. The behavioral correlate of this value orientation was a continuous work effort on the part of the students.

Mr. Williams would sometimes lecture the students about their work responsibilities. A tactic he used on some occasions was to question students about the consequences of their lack of achievement:

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Mr. Williams shows a book to seven students at the aide's table. He says, "This is what you are supposed to know for fifth grade. You know you can do it. What will happen if you don't learn it?" One student mumbles something about they were going to fail. Mr. Williams: "We weren't talking about failing. Do you know why I asked you to come here?" (pause) "I picked you because you might not know this work by the end of the fifth grade."

Later he continues: "You know what you have to do. You have your books. You are capable of doing the work, but for some reason you don't think you have to do it. There is some reason. Why do these things have to happen? Why do you come to class?" Student replies, "Learn my work." Mr. Williams says, "What do you have to learn?" Student says, "The times tables." Mr. Williams says, "Okay, if you don't know your times tables you can't learn the work that comes after. You must know this because we'll be going into division and fractions. This group is goofing off. You can learn. There is nothing wrong with your heads. You can learn. What do we do about it?" The attitude was, let's work this thing out together, and as though he is seriously looking for solutions from the students. One student volunteers, "Put 'em in the corner." Mr. Williams says, "Nobody's going to be put in a corner." The teacher takes more suggestions from students that include things like, "Are you going to change our places or our desks in the classroom?" and other inaudible comments. The teacher's voice is raised. He straightens up and points to the other students seated at their desks and says, in a voice that was clearly audible to the class while addressing the students at the aide's tables, "See the other people out there? They're not noise makers. They're trying to do their work. Things are happening right now. "You" (addressing the group at the aide's table) "take time away from the class. You interrupt. I have to stop, and you take up their time. It isn't fair to them."

You are going to have to start working on changing this kind of behavior." Student says, "Are you going to move our seats?" Teacher says, "No. If I move you it will have to be a week from today. I would have to change the seating chart. They" (points to observers) "have to know your names. I'll have to make up a new seating chart." Calls each student at the aides' table by name and asks each one individually, "Do you understand? All right now, you go back to your desks and let's get going." He says this in the typical football coach manner, in a positive way. Students get up from the aide's table and move in the direction of their seats.

Mr. Williams drew a public contrast between the students who did not know their multiplication tables and those who did. This amounted to a statement of what it takes to be a good student. He publicly said that the good students were not the noise makers, they didn't take time away from the class, they didn't interrupt.

Mr. Williams was often stern and disapproving. At other times he encouraged students to acknowledge their abilities. In the following example both of these aspects of the teacher's approach are evident:

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Mr. Williams raises his voice and scolds Tom, addressing him by his last name. "Mr. ____, now get busy. Once you finish eating lunch I want you back here at 12:30. . . . Turning to the aide he says, "These two young men are coming in at 12:30 and they can stay till you leave."

Mr. Williams bends down over Rob, who is working at his desk. In a low voice he says to Rob, "You know you could be one of the best top students here. You know you can do it. But you won't. You don't work." It was a combination of a scolding and a convincing voice trying to encourage the boy to work.

In all instances the interpersonal tone of his communications was serious and managerial. Mr. Williams indicated on a number of occasions that threats motivated students to work:

10/18

Today was the first day of using threats of no recess if assignments were not completed. The pressure produced completed assignments from the majority of students within the allotted time period. Students appeared to be more responsible for their own work.

Other types of punishment were also used. Mr. Williams threatened to send a note home to a parent or call a parent conference in response to repeated off-task behavior. On one occasion, he assigned a homework exercise to a student to write one sentence each for 11 spelling words instead of for the five words that the other students were assigned to do in class. Another student was paddled for using "unacceptable" language. And on two occasions, students were to be suspended for fighting, but in both cases parents were not available to pick up the students.

This appeared to be a very teacher-centered classroom, with the aide fulfilling management functions only in the teacher's absence. Days were characterized by many teacher attempts at control. As mentioned above, most of the teacher's public remarks concerned off-task and distracting behavior. The students had obviously learned to go to the teacher for permission to sharpen pencils, get a drink of water, go to the bathroom, etc. The events that seemed most disruptive were noisy talking, yelling across the room, and off-task behavior. Apparently, one of the vital signs of the classroom that the teacher monitored was the noise level. Some good noise control techniques were observed. One routine involved the teacher standing and raising his hand above his head. This was a signal for quiet. The teacher also repeated the rule, "When you see my hand it means quiet," when he used this signal. The observer also seemed to think that teacher eye contact with students was used effectively as a behavior management technique. The bulk of the noise

control maneuvers were negative, however, e.g., the threat of punishment. *Because the teacher seldom followed threats with actual punishments, this approach to classroom management did not seem to be very effective.*

Mr. Williams, however, believed that he devised specific ways of dealing with student misbehavior--particularly talking and off-task behavior--which reflected his assessment of students' needs. He felt that Chuck, Rhonda, Toby, and Van, his problem students who couldn't settle down, were immature. Immaturity, he felt, was manifested by a demand for attention. His method of determining how to respond to these students is demonstrated in the following excerpt from his daily reports:

A second concern that comes to mind is that of the students having difficulty adjusting to my classroom. Their behavior is of such a nature that far too much time is spent on them, therefore, taking away from the other students who need help with academics. For many of these students, the way I see it, the behavior is expressed as a way of getting attention. I've observed, this week, that when a few of them are given positions of authority in the classroom, their behavior changes. Also, with a few of them, the threat of calling parents changed their behavior--greatly. I'm going to use these two approaches for about a week and follow through as much as possible--assigning the leadership positions to those that need it, and visiting the parents of those who need that also.

By the fifth week of observations Mr. Williams reported that, for the most part, he had succeeded in getting students to do their work without disrupting the class. As he stated in his November 14th report, however, he didn't know "which of the approaches I use is the most effective."

Although the ethnographers reported that off-task behavior was still widespread by the end of the observation period, Mr. Williams was satisfied that the disruptive students were responding:

It appears now that those students who had been presenting problems before have taken on the responsibility of being more responsible for the way they act. Most of the problems have been eliminated, but this is no indication that everything is okay in terms of those students who had been causing the problems before. It's just telling me that we have reached somewhat of a solution by working together.

The most vulnerable part of this classroom organization was that it was susceptible to interruption. The teacher and the aide could not keep up with the relatively large number of questions and disturbances which occurred during seatwork time. The teacher lumped behavior problems with learning problems, both of which may have resulted from this seatwork-oriented classroom organization.

In addition to classroom management problems and the boring seatwork routine, learning was occasionally sabotaged, albeit unintentionally, by the teacher's own actions. A dramatic example of this occurred during a transition from a whole-group lesson on adjectives to a seatwork assignment. Before the students could begin the seatwork, the teacher announced that he was now putting an additional homework assignment on the chalkboard that covered the same ground as the seatwork assignment. This agitated and distracted the students, and probably worked against their doing a good job on the seatwork. Sharp exchanges ensued between students and teacher. This polarization continued through the afternoon and climaxed at the end of the day with an argument between the teacher and a student regarding the excessiveness of the homework assignments. The teacher threatened corporal punishment and then referred to his authority as teacher in order to obtain compliance.

Changes of Teacher Plans

Mr. Williams did not alter his instructional program very much during the course of the observations. Most of his efforts were directed at getting students to settle down and do the work. Exceptions to this were some attempts to make afternoon seatwork more productive. Mr. Williams had noted that 85 percent of the students could complete their spelling assignments independently in the allotted time. On November 1st he began working in a group with those students who could not finish their spelling assignments. Then, on some days he would break up the seatwork activities with student recitation. *This direct instruction, combined with student participation and recitation, appeared much more effective than his earlier attempts to have the students work independently.*

Another change that Mr. Williams effected was to work directly with Keith, whom he thought should have been placed in a special education class. Mr. Williams initiated this individual work with Keith after discovering that he could not tell time. Up to that point Keith had been left on his own during independent seatwork activities. Keith remained socially isolated throughout the observation period, however.

The teacher made some efforts to go beyond the core curriculum, and the results of these efforts are important indications of the extent to which the deficiencies of the classroom affected the possibilities of change. On one occasion, Mr. Williams indicated that he wanted students to use a period of time to read for pleasure. The students, however, wanted to use that time to catch up on their reading assignments. The students won. Thus, Mr. Williams' emphasis on work carried over in a way he had not anticipated. Another time Mr. Williams attempted to use a Magic Circle filmstrip on values. He recognized that this was an unsuccessful activity because the students were

so absorbed in watching the novel media that they didn't learn from the content of the presentation. Thus, students' adjustment to Mr. Williams' usual instructional methods had become an obstacle to the use of new materials.

Classroom Social System

No attempt to build a social system was evident in this teacher's classroom methods. The teacher spent most of his time and energy keeping the students on task and giving them individual help in their seatwork. The class was joyless, with low participation and involvement by the students. The classroom organization seemed to work against any good feelings or social group activities associated with learning. Learning was work; individuals work at learning.

The interpersonal tone in the classroom appeared to be an adversary one, with the teacher and the aide on one side and the students on the other. Various forms of mild punishment and threats were the primary devices the teacher used to keep order. Students defied or baited the teacher several times. These episodes generally turned out favorably for the students involved. Also, it appeared that the only communication between this teacher and the students' parents concerned negative student behavior.

We get some insight into the students' perceptions of the teacher and his role from an incident on October 24th, in which Yolanda was working as a study group leader at the aide's table during the afternoon. In this role she behaved as a strict disciplinarian, chastising students and even whacking their hands with a ruler. Apparently the teacher role was seen as that of a grouch and a disciplinarian by the students.

Mr. Williams felt that his function was to prepare students to be responsible adults. His businesslike and formal interpersonal style and his frequent

references to the students' need for responsibility and maturity displayed this emphasis. One of the few occasions in which his daily reports presented feelings of concern for the students other than in an academic context occurred on November 15th, when he expressed surprise and dismay that they had such a "very low knowledge of the world of work." This was in response to the results of the district's career awareness survey. Despite this recognition, Mr. Williams did not initiate his planned career education program, although he indicated he would do so later in the year.

Although Mr. Williams felt that it was very important for the students to become independent and responsible, he did little to foster these qualities. In fact, other than encouragement and criticism, the only attempt made to foster students' "responsibility" was initiated on November 20th:

Students were asked to make a list of things they had been reminded to do by their parents or by their teachers. They are to keep these lists for two days to see how well they are growing in becoming responsible.

Because observations ended two days later, it was not possible to determine if this technique produced the desired results. In any case, this exercise was clearly designed to address individual accountability rather than group accountability, and no reward structure was set up to motivate students to "progress" at meeting externally-imposed demands.

Integration

Because all students in Mr. Williams' classroom were black, it is only possible to deal with the concept of integration in terms of the teacher's understanding and accommodation of individual differences and his presentation of subject matter designed to foster understanding and acceptance of cultural differences. In this regard Mr. Williams was remiss, as no attempt was made to deal with other cultures or peoples in any way. There was one story in

the reading materials that was set in a different culture. The only mention Mr. Williams made of the bused white students was to warn his class not to fight with them.

According to the daily tapes, Mr. Williams had a thorough knowledge of his students' home lives and personal problems. Yet he neither used this knowledge in his instructional/management practices nor attempted in any way to intervene in the social relations among his students. For example, one student was reared in a Black Muslim home and was socially ostracized. Although aware of the problem, Mr. Williams did not try to foster tolerance for the girl among the other students or try to organize activities to include her.

In summary, Mr. Williams was exclusively absorbed by the problems of administering an academic program and providing individual help to students. As a result, the classroom took on the character of a workplace with little esprit, few opportunities for exploration or creativity, and no attempts to build cooperation and mutual understanding.

B. CASE STUDY OF MS. BAKER'S CLASSROOM

Ms. Baker is white, and at the time of the study had 25 years of teaching experience, including 21 in the Valley City School District. She was new, however, to Jefferson Elementary (the school under study). Her transition to this new school seemed to be difficult. Formerly, the school's student body was almost entirely black. The initiation of a Fine Arts Magnet Program and a Vanguard (MGM) Program brought whites to the campus. The year of the MESE Project study was the first year of desegregation.

The Class

Ms. Baker's class consisted of 30 children--23 blacks, two Mexican Americans, one Native American, and four whites--two of whom were in this class only temporarily. Six of the children were fifth graders, and the remaining 24 were sixth graders. The teacher estimated that the students averaged a fourth-grade level in academic achievement, with a range from approximately eight to second-grade level.

Initial difficulties in getting the students to produce assignments and pay attention in class had frustrated the teacher greatly. On October 24th, when she talked to the sixth grade students' teacher from the previous year, she learned that they had been a "difficult" group:

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I took the opportunity to talk to the teacher that they had last year. She had met with them the first time in February. She told me that she was never able to get them to settle down, to have any formal patterns or study habits. I believe her.

Ms. Baker noted that there had been a 100 percent turnover in teaching staff at the school over the past two years. This may also have been a factor in poor student achievement.

Philosophy of Instruction

Ms. Baker repeatedly expressed her strong belief in teaching the child instead of the subject matter. She emphasized the need for drastic improvement in her students' study habits to better prepare them for junior high school the following year.

I'm a firm believer that you begin in first grade to nurture study habits. For one reason or another, this group of children was not nurtured in study habits. I would not blame it on any particular colleague. I will say that at Jefferson there has been a 100 percent turnover of teaching personnel in the last year and a half.

At other times she expressed the conviction that students should be required to master skills of one grade level before moving to the next.

At elementary school we say "Okay, at the next grade this youngster will catch up." As a sixth-grade teacher this year I am reaping the results of that philosophy. Many of these youngsters should never have gotten to sixth grade with the proficiency skills that they have.

She also believed that student progression is ensured by "proper attitudes, [that] must come from the home."

Ms. Baker believed that students must experience success in order to have a positive attitude toward the completion of work. Thus, she conducted a classroom in which students were awarded for turning in their weekly allotment of assignments; and bribes, trinkets, and extra privileges were given to students who completed assignments or exceeded her expectations. She commented that she tried to use grouping or instructional formats that would motivate the students to perform. In order to maintain the behavior modification system and good record keeping, and provide both individual help and group instruction, Ms. Baker needed additional instructional personnel. She felt fortunate in having a capable aide who could teach both a reading and a math group, and check daily seatwork assignments.

In practice, reading, math, and language arts were taught in the mornings, and the afternoons were set aside for the students to participate in the fine arts offerings at the school. Students could take drama, chorus, dance, art, or piano lessons, or work on various school projects. Silent reading, study hall, and health were offered in the afternoons to students who did not participate in the fine arts programs. Friction evolved because of the unpredictable changes in scheduling of the fine arts activities. Students often left the room, only to return when the activity was cancelled without advanced notice, or Ms. Baker would be interrupted in the middle of a lesson and asked to send students to a rescheduled fine arts activity. Thus, her instructional plans were inherently susceptible to interruption. Ms. Baker felt that this was detrimental to the needs of her students, as she pointed out in her daily report:

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They need a highly structured situation where every move is thought out for them. And they do not resent it--they appreciate it.

In terms of subject matter, Ms. Baker believed that, given the poor achievement level of most of the children, reading required the most emphasis. The reading period was flexible enough to accommodate the attention spans of all members of the heterogeneous class. She felt that the higher achievers needed one and a half hours a day for reading, but that the lower achievers would not be able to sustain self-directed reading that long. To accommodate these differences, she blended spelling and dictionary work into the scheduled reading time. Reading and math were taught in groups according to ability. Typically, the teacher instructed the higher achievers as a group, while the middle group(s) did independent seatwork and the lower achieving group worked with the aide. After this short group instruction, the higher achievers would do

independent seatwork while the teacher roved the class to give individual help. Ms. Baker would rotate small-group instruction--the following day the middle groups would receive teacher-led small-group instruction, and on the day after that the lower achieving group would receive this instruction.

Language arts consisted of writing a journal (two-thirds of a page per morning). On most days this was the first class activity. Spelling, grammar, and punctuation were corrected by the instructor. The format was changed during the course of the observations from tests on lists of words to dictation of sentences using the words. Ms. Baker spent a good deal of effort dealing with the rampant cheating on the spelling quizzes.

Ms. Baker used the number of students who qualified for the weekly achievement awards as her indicator of the success of her approach. Students who completed their assignments for the week qualified for the awards. She felt that perseverance and completion of work were essential building blocks of improved student self-concepts, intrinsic motivation, and interest in schooling. The success rate of students by this measure was poor since during the second week of observations, more than two months into the school year, only nine students qualified for the awards. This was particularly disturbing since the standards were low--i.e., the amount of work required and the level of difficulty were minimized so as to encourage initial success. Ms. Baker moved to improve this situation by making the award a prerequisite for participation in any of the extra-classroom activities for the following week. This had a dramatic effect on the class. The next week 19 students qualified for the award. The number of students, however, leveled off at this number over the succeeding weeks, as the lowest achievers seldom produced their work. Nevertheless, by Thanksgiving vacation only three students had never received an award.

Ms. Baker used peer tutoring and was pleased with its results. She noted that the lower achievers who received help got their work done and the higher achievers felt important. She tried to match up friends, with one of the pair being a good worker who could serve as a model for the low achiever.

On the whole, it is particularly disturbing that at the sixth-grade level so many of the students were unable to complete seatwork that was at the second and third-grade level in reading and at the level of subtraction in math. From Ms. Baker's point of view, constant praise, rewards, emphasis on the positive, and work geared low enough for lower achievers to experience success would result in slow, steady improvement of attitude and work production.

Despite the teacher's encouraging portrayal of the progress she was making using these methods, the ethnographic field notes provided a dramatically different account of the dynamics of this classroom. The most telling examples of this discrepancy were found in the motivational strategy about which Ms. Baker was most enthusiastic--the achievement awards system. The ethnographer noted that, when Ms. Baker made participation in the Fine Arts Program contingent on receiving an achievement award, students responded by copying each other's work so that they could complete their assignments. Ms. Baker believed that the peer tutoring process was beneficial both academically and in encouraging good student role models. Thus, she made no attempt to discourage this practice. Given the adversary tone many of the students used when talking about and to the teacher, one must conclude that the students were not being won over by the behavior modification system.

Philosophy of Classroom Management

Ms. Baker's classroom management system was intermeshed with her instructional system, as behavior modification provided a system of rewards and punishments for academic achievement. Unlike the awards system for completing academic work, however, there was no awards system for good behavior. Rather, the teacher verbally reinforced compliant students with praise and lectured the class to thank them for having a good work period. Ms. Baker made a conscious effort to ignore inappropriate behavior. Nevertheless, off-task behavior, defiance, and horseplay were so frequent that Ms. Baker often deprived students of recess, told them to leave the room, or sent them to the "social adjustment" teacher.

Ms. Baker noticed that positive reinforcement was something black students in her class were unaccustomed to. On November 15th she commented in her daily report that "the children expect to be scolded all the time. They continue to be surprised when I don't." The expectation of punishment did not deter misbehavior. As the teacher noted on October 27th:

Whenever they know my attention is not focused directly on them, they tend to take that opportunity to do something else--usually horse around.

The teacher portrayed herself as "supportive but not afraid to be firm if pushed," and referred to her style as an earlier formulation of the ideas of Assertive Discipline. Much of the teacher's problems in controlling the class stemmed from the several black boys who taunted and insulted peers and teacher alike. Ms. Baker would become exasperated most days with one or more of them and would resort to threats and other negative sanctions, which were in marked contrast to her "supportive efforts." Ms. Baker spoke of "two Excedrin and four Excedrin days." Sometimes the teacher acted decisively,

and sent students to the adjustment teacher or deprived them of recess. At other times the struggle to maintain control of the classroom could best be described as a stalemate. Such a day was November 2nd, when the teacher commented:

I think this was a day of lectures. I give so many of them--every half hour, practically--I forget and don't always record them here. "If you do this, this will happen to you."

On November 9th, she asked the students to calm down by closing their eyes and counting--up to 75.

Toward the end of November, the periods of time in which the teacher could ignore minor misbehaviors and push students to do their work increased noticeably. Significantly, her two main antagonists, Robin and Melvin, had left the school, as had two other frequently disruptive students, Ruby and Barbara.

Overall, however, Ms. Baker did not seem aware of the extent to which the students defied her authority to gain favor with their peers. Ms. Baker's decision to ignore mild misbehavior and give the adjustment teacher authority over the more serious offenders seemed to make her students feel as if they had gotten the best of the situation, and so they continued the "game."

Ms. Baker's attempts to portray all things in as favorable a light as possible resulted in a high tolerance for passive aggressive behavior in students. For example, she described Kim as "wanting attention . . . a capable reader who wants constant emotional support." Kim's behavior seemed more accurately described as slyly feigned helplessness to gain the teacher's help and avoid work.

Changes of Teacher Plans

Of the teachers in the study, Ms. Baker appeared to display the largest arsenal of alternative techniques of influencing students' academic motivation. In addition to the awards system, she tried bribes of candy for immediate reinforcement, and rewards of stickers, frisbees, or lunch with her for prolonged (five-week) work effort. When the number of students who completed their weekly work increased, she set up centers around the room so that students could have interesting enrichment activities as motivators for finishing their work early. She included students in the parent conferences and tried to arrange work contracts whereby parents would withhold rewards (TV watching, favorite desserts, etc.) if homework assignments were not completed. In general, the teacher presented a highly rational account of the reasons for the particular approaches she used each day. Yet there were serious discrepancies between the planned operation and actual implementation of many of these ideas. Ms. Baker was keenly aware of some of these problems. For example, she recognized that the centers were not being used because the students had not been given instructions about how or when to use them.

Although most of Ms. Baker's modifications of her teaching techniques were designed to keep students on task, she did demonstrate other concerns. On October 27th she reported that she wanted to initiate a new spelling quiz procedure to combat the rampant cheating. She did, in fact, put this plan into action the following Monday and reported that it was successful. During the same week she offered alternative activities to students who remained behind when their classmates went to fine arts activities. On November 8th she began what she called a "schedule within a schedule" by writing down on the board the names of the students who raised their hands for help so that

they could be assisted in order during the reading period. Ms. Baker was pleased with the results:

This worked very well. I shall continue to do this. They did not talk at me, they were more polite and some of them did wait and figured it out before I got there--knowing that if they couldn't figure it out there was going to be help there. The very fact that there is security to be had seems to help very much.

Another change of plans involved switching the two lowest-achieving students from the reading and math groups to individual contracts emphasizing reading work. Ms. Baker felt that this was the only way that she could give them some preparation for the reading demands of junior high school. They would be able to experience some success by qualifying for awards exclusively on the basis of their contract work.

Perhaps the most significant adjustment the teacher made in her classroom during the observation period was to require that students receive an achievement award in order to participate in the extra curriculum at the school. Later this rule was made more stringent. Students were given notes by the aide on Thursdays indicating the assignments that remained outstanding. Students whom the teacher felt were in danger of not completing their weekly work were then required to remain in the room to catch up. The institution of this system changed the Fine Arts Program from a "right" to a "privilege" according to Ms. Baker. The number of students qualifying for awards doubled to 19 that week, but leveled off at that number. Although a third of the class was still off the pace, Ms. Baker was pleased at the substantial improvement in work production.

Classroom Social System

Ms. Baker clearly believed that she was overcoming her students' initial distrust and lack of cooperation. She spent a good deal of time interacting informally with the girls (but not the boys)--helping them clean their desks and make art projects. On November 2nd she noted with pride that:

They know that I like them. I have really won them over.
They like me as a person and they know I like them as
people.

In this class there seemed to be no group spirit or the building of an identity or commitment for the class. The emphasis was on individual achievement. The teacher clearly saw her function to be to prepare individual children to take their places in junior high school. As Dr. Clark concluded:

A striking feature of this classroom was that hardly any time was devoted to building a feeling of the integrity of the whole group. When the teacher did address the group it was usually for disciplinary reasons. The solidarity that developed excluded the teacher. That is, the collective student agenda seemed to be to resist what the teacher proposed and to undermine academic activities.

The background, values, and experience of Ms. Baker were clearly very different from those of her students. In coming to teach at this school, she seemed to adopt the strategy that the instructional approach that had worked for her in the past (with white middle class students) would also work in a predominantly black school. When it began to be clear that this strategy was not working, the teacher resorted to 1) explaining her difficulties in terms of factors beyond her control (poor family background of students, bad neighborhood influences, the busing program, wide range of student ability) and 2) trying even harder to implement the teacher-centered, individualized, seatwork-based instructional system by escalating threats and punishments for noncompliance.

Integration

Nowhere was the lack of group spirit more evident than in the social relations between the black and white students in the classroom. Almost all of the white students were bused in and were attending Jefferson Elementary for the first time. The Chicana twins fell into a different category since they had attended Jefferson for several years and had already established friendships. Antagonism between the white girls who formed a clique and the black girls who were in the high achieving instructional groups was displayed in frequent taunts and threats. The only white boy who tried to join a group of black boys was beaten in the closet. This same boy was receptive to a Mexican-American boy who was a newcomer to the class, and extended himself to others of like (high) reading ability. This greatly pleased Ms. Baker, but it should be noted that this integration did not come about through any efforts on her part. In fact, the only effort Ms. Baker made to reduce social distance among groups was to agree to soccer games between her students and the (predominantly white) gifted class.

The social studies textbook had been delayed by funding problems and arrived on the last day of observations. According to Ms. Baker, the text had a "multicultural" focus. She did not know how she would make use of it, however, because of the reading skills it required. Thus, there was neither a curricular, nor an interactional program that could overcome the obvious social distance between the bused white students and the indigenous black students.

This lack of emphasis on social dimension, suggested in the discussion of classroom management, greatly affected the classroom operation. Ms. Baker seemed constantly forced to revise her lesson plans and activities. Some factors, such as coordination with the Fine Arts Program, were beyond her

control, and some problems could be attributed to a particular student group's negative attitudes toward school. Yet Ms. Baker did not attempt to rectify the problems of integrating students. While most of her self reports examined fruitful approaches to or justified actions in instruction or behavior modification, no such deliberation addressed social cohesion in the classroom. The weekly soccer game with the white students from the gifted class was the only tangible effort to encourage interaction among black and white students.

Prospects were not any better for the rest of the school year. On the last day of observations the delayed arrival of the multicultural oriented social studies texts proved anticlimactic--Ms. Baker felt that its reading level was too difficult for the class. It can be concluded that Ms. Baker made a choice to teach all students in a "color-blind" way. The serious academic deficiencies of her pupils and her inability to gain the students' cooperation absorbed all of her teaching efforts. Unfortunately, in her efforts to help the students, Ms. Baker ignored goals of social integration.

C. CASE STUDY OF MR. LEWIS' CLASSROOM

Mr. Lewis is a 46-year-old white male with 20 years of teaching experience. Before transferring to Hooper Elementary School, he spent most of his career in a school with an almost totally black enrollment.

Philosophy of Instruction

Mr. Lewis used to rely strongly on individualized learning. He stated that several years previously he had individualized all of his instruction "to an absurd degree," but had to abandon the system because it was completely unmanageable. His instruction during the MESE Project study showed a mixture of techniques, with the emphasis still on individualization. In reading, the students were divided into three subgroups according to the material that they were using. A student could change groups simply by requesting the change, and Mr. Lewis stated that students who changed groups often performed above his expectations. Within the groups students worked on their own material at their own pace and only went to the teacher or aide with a question or to have their work corrected. For oral reading, however, the teacher went to the students or had them come to him individually.

Also included in the reading curriculum was what the teacher called his "listening lesson." During this time, the teacher read part of a story to the entire class. He then asked questions or put questions on the blackboard for the students to answer. Mr. Lewis felt that the listening lesson was important because it allowed him to focus on characterization, plot development and the relationship between characters without relying on each student's reading ability. The teacher felt that this also afforded him a means of distinguishing between students with a learning problem and those who were

simply poor readers. Often students showed good comprehension and demonstrated greater intelligence during the listening lesson than they were able to exhibit during oral reading or individualized seatwork.

The same combination of whole-group instruction and individual seatwork was used for math. The teacher started with a "mini-lesson," through which he introduced a new concept to the entire class. This was followed by independent seatwork, where students worked at their own levels. Science and social science lessons were both teacher directed, whole-group instruction.

Because the parents at this school chose the teacher they wanted for their child, and because Mr. Lewis stated that he had a reputation for being able to handle problem students, he felt he had received many students that he would label as "incorrigible." At least a half a dozen had been on Ritalin either that year or the year before, while others had serious emotional problems or were hyperkinetic. Mr. Lewis believed strongly in taking the students off medication and then dealing directly with their problems. Because of this, a good part of the teacher's curriculum was designed to respond to these problems.

Physical education was a key component of this curriculum. Usually, Mr. Lewis would send students out to the yard seven or eight minutes before recess to run laps around the school yard. He then had a more structured P.E. class between recess and lunch, at which time all the students (boys and girls) joined in playing a major sport. After lunch there was a second recess period that, on a number of occasions, was extended by Mr. Lewis. On a normal day, the class spent one hour in P.E. activities (including recesses). The teacher used P.E. activities to allow his students and himself to release pent-up energy and tension.

But sometimes when I can feel that I'm losing control of the class because of either something that I've done or something that is happening--usually something that I've done or haven't done; and almost always because I've given them materials which are too difficult for them; and instead of belaboring the point, you know, and screaming and hollering (although I may get to that point and once it comes out I realize that, "You've just blown it.")--I just take them outside, and air out my feelings and let them get out and exercise and play something. So we also use it as a "teacher catharsis."

The teacher also had a number of exercises that he labeled as "affective education." His first exercise, which he called "blending," was a short exercise of five to ten minutes. The students were divided into groups of two to four and then told to join hands, lean back to back, or touch in some other specified manner. The teacher then directed them to close their eyes, breathe deeply, and imagine something--perhaps that they were losing themselves in the group or in their partners. A second, similar exercise called "dyads" had the students join hands in groups of two and then tell their partner one thing that they liked about him/her. The essential elements of each exercise were closing of the eyes and breathing deeply, since these forced the students to relax. The touching and the positive feedback was used to build warmth and solidarity within the class.

In place of language arts, Mr. Lewis used a dream journal. At first, the students paired off and told each other their dream or a fantasy, and then each wrote it in his/her journal. Later, the teacher merely had the students record their own dreams or fantasies in their journals. The journals were read, corrected, and returned to the students. Mr. Lewis felt that the journals gave him a better insight into his students and at the same time got the students to analyze their own dreams.

The teacher also had a directed fantasy lesson in which the children closed their eyes and relaxed while the teacher narrated a story or idea. For example, Mr. Lewis had the students imagine that they were being reprimanded unjustly by some teacher. When he finished outlining the fantasy, he instructed the students to change the situation to resolve the problem in a way that would be satisfying to both themselves and the teacher who was reprimanding them. After the fantasy session the class pulled their chairs into a circle and each student related his/her fantasy. In this way, the teacher discussed discrimination, cultural differences, and interpersonal conflicts. The benefits of these lessons were numerous. They taught the students empathy and how to solve problems in a novel manner. Each child was also required to articulate his or her feelings in front of the class. Confidence and trust were thus built in a safe environment. Finally, a strong moral message usually emerged out of each lesson.

Philosophy of Management

Mr. Lewis' management system was a flexible combination of positive and negative reinforcement. It was flexible in that the teacher attempted to stay in tune with each student's feelings on a given day so that he could avoid unnecessary confrontations and anticipate unavoidable ones. He did this in a couple of ways: (1) by reading the students' dream journals and discussing their dreams with them, which gave him an insight into their fears and problems; (2) by reading a "Biorhythm Chart" on which the students marked how they were feeling each day--e.g., "good," "not too good" (mildly anti-social), or "grumpy" (very anti-social). Mr. Lewis stated that he took their feelings into consideration when dealing with the students. For positive reinforcement the teacher used praise, smiles, and general human warmth. In particular, the

teacher felt that touching was important, and he would often use this instead of a verbal reprimand. A touch on the shoulder or head was used to get a student's attention, and hugging was often enough to calm him or her down. As the teacher put it:

And like some of the kids who are fat or not very attractive--by holding them or holding their hand or putting my arm around them and talking to them or touching their head or something like that--these are the things that allow me to say, "Stop it." And they do it because they respect me; and I think love me; although I don't think a teacher has to.

Mr. Lewis also rewarded the students for completing their work--by giving them free time in which to play games. Often he would allow them to go out on the playground and play under the aide's supervision.

On the negative side, the teacher had a number of sanctions open to him. He could revoke a student's free time. The teacher said that he paddled students for more serious offenses. Mr. Lewis was very open with the class about the reason for paddling. He told them that it was done to hurt so that they would be afraid of him and therefore obey. It should be noted that Mr. Lewis did not paddle anyone during the study, but he did relate to the ethnographer several instances in which it had been done earlier in the year. Suspension was another option and was used to good effect with a student he had been having trouble with. The "hot seat" was a method of controlling students whereby peer pressure was brought to bear on individuals. This was used when other methods of communication failed.

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The teacher walks over from his desk to the west wall. He is talking inaudibly to Julia. The noise level is plus one. Julia is sitting on top of Table G and accuses the teacher loudly about bad-mouthing her and treating her with lack of respect because she is black. She says that she doesn't get to do what the others get to do. She talks quickly and repeats the phrases. The teacher says loudly, "Okay. Okay.

Class quiet. I want to discuss this." Julia starts to defend herself and says angrily, "When I...." The teacher interrupts and says firmly, but calmly, "Wait, Julia. You say that I am not letting you do what you want and that I am letting the rest of the class do something. What is it specifically that I am not letting you do?" Julia's reply is fast and inaudible. The teacher rephrases softly and then says loudly to the class, "When you asked me if you could do something and I didn't let you (he refers to Julia's request to change the date on the board by erasing it and re-chalking the date in correctly), you know I didn't let anyone else either. I changed it." Julia replies angrily, not looking at the teacher. "You don't treat me with respect. You don't let me do anything." The teacher replies firmly, but calmly, "Be specific." Julia mumbles defensively, "I don't remember." The teacher says intently and firmly, "That's interesting. You don't remember the little things. You only remember what you want to remember." Julia replies angrily, "You don't respect me!" The teacher says again intently, "That's interesting. You say that I don't treat you with respect. You don't treat me with respect. I don't treat you with respect because you don't earn it. You've not treated anyone in the class with respect." Julia replies with an inaudible insult, and the teacher says intently, "That's what I mean. You don't really treat anyone in the class with respect." Julia again repeats, still not looking at the teacher. "You don't treat me with respect." The teacher tells her that she has not treated anyone in the class with respect, and Julia denies this. The teacher says, "How many in here have been bad-mouthed by her?" The entire class raises their hands, including the aide. Julia looks around frowning and begins pointing at the students, starting with the aide. She says angrily, "You lie. You lie. You lie. You lie." (She continues saying this to each student.) The teacher stops her and says firmly with his hand on her shoulder, trying to calm her, "This is what I mean. The reason you don't get respect from people is because you don't give them respect."

At this point he began to call on different students to recite their grievances against Julia.

Mr. Lewis drew several other methods from his training in psychology. It was Mr. Lewis' opinion that teachers should deal directly with students' feelings, particularly aggression. If two students were having problems and were on the verge of fighting, Mr. Lewis would take them aside at recess or lunch and set up a direct confrontation. The students were allowed to hit

each other with foam encounter bats or rolled-up newspaper. At the beginning of the year the teacher had allowed students to discharge their hostilities toward him in a similar manner. He would allow one student at a time to put on boxing gloves and hit him while he attempted to block the student's punches. The district, however, ordered him to discontinue this latter practice.

The various techniques of affective education mentioned earlier should be seen as part of Mr. Lewis' management strategy. They were, in part, designed to relax the students and dissipate some of the tension that would otherwise surface as disciplinary problems.

Changes in the Teacher's Plans

This analyst would classify Mr. Lewis as an unorthodox, opinionated, and outspoken teacher. Judging from his own statements, in the past he was more unorthodox, opinionated, and outspoken. He now considers himself unchangeable. As he said:

My biggest weakness is my egotism because I am so sure that I have answers to things, and even though I do listen to other people, sometimes it takes awhile to process the ego network to let me change something that I feel very strongly about.

The teacher responded most quickly to situations in which he received direct feedback from his actions. After he individualized all of his instruction, Mr. Lewis found that he was spending all of his time managing the system, so he backed off. On other things the feedback was not so direct, since the effects were felt by the students. It took the teacher several years before he slowly changed his instructional and management policies. His stand on homework is a good example of this.

I haven't given homework for years and years, and I have been assaulted by parents and teachers and principals and everybody about it and, frankly, tomorrow I am going to initiate a homework program. It's taken about three years for me to get that penetration through. Part of it is that I had my own two children. . . . My twins are thirteen now and they were in my classroom two years ago, and the effects of not giving them homework or not enough homework have affected me. I have seen that possibly I needed to give homework.

Mr. Lewis similarly did not believe in using a great deal of repetition (he stated that he had a low tolerance for boredom) in teaching math, and therefore used no textbook. He noticed that the other more traditional fifth grade teacher was getting better results on the CTBS, so he finally introduced more drilling into his own lessons and about two years ago started using a textbook. It is interesting that the teacher also mentioned CTBS scores in his discussion of his math "mini-lesson," so the standardized testing may have strongly influenced teacher decision making.

Besides changes based on considerations of efficiency of his approach, Mr. Lewis effected other changes which seemed to be due to parental and administrative pressure. One concerned an art and game period the teacher had at the end of the school day. In the past the entire class took part in this, but the teacher had since restricted the activity to those individuals who had finished their work. The teacher implied that this change was made almost against his will.

I don't like it. I do it, I think, probably because I'm beginning to feel the pressures of the parents and the administration. Because I give them so much time to themselves (and people just don't understand how valuable it is; they just don't understand it at all). And I'm finally getting tired of fighting it, and I think that's why I gave in and said, "Well, okay if you don't get your work done--." So then I have some justification. The other kids are free because they've earned it and these kids are working because--. But that's bullshit; that's pure bullshit. It's just meanness.

Mr. Lewis made changes in his instructional or management practices most easily when he based them on new information that did not challenge one of his previously held beliefs. The teacher stated he was deeply affected by what he learned about several of his students during parent conferences, and that this in turn affected the way he handled those students. The classroom observations verified that Mr. Lewis tried new approaches toward some students (especially Julia) as a result of the parent conferences.

Classroom Social System

Mr. Lewis invested considerable time and effort in the development of his classroom social system. The classroom was designed to be a place where each child could feel he was respected.

Well, I believe that respect for the child and the individual is one of the major things that affects the way I teach. . . . I want them to feel their own sense of uniqueness. I also want them to be understanding that everyone else is also unique and to be kind to each other in their understanding of their individual weaknesses and the strengths of other people. . . .

The teacher tried to build or rebuild the child's sense of self worth out of this sense of uniqueness. He felt that, especially in the black schools, the students came to him with egos that had been badly damaged.

In a classroom where a large percentage of students had reputations for aggressiveness and/or antisocial behavior, one would be foolish to implement a social system based on rules of respect for others without being ready to enforce them. Mr. Lewis was able to enforce the classroom rules, and thus, succeeded in creating social cohesion in the classroom, although his management style could be described as autocratic. The continued maintenance of the social system depended constantly on the teacher's presence. All decisions flowed from him, either in response to his interpretation of ground

rules or as immediate decisions to redirect the class. Although autocratic, by carefully explaining why rules existed, the teacher was considered reasonable by the students; and by being evenhanded and explaining why an action was taken, he was also considered fair. Mr. Lewis most strongly asserted his authority in defending students who were not "respected" by their peers. As he said in his introductory interview:

The main thing to start off with (and one of the reasons a lot of the kids like to be in my room) is that they know that I will protect them. And the only way I can protect them is that if someone hurts them, then I will hurt that person. And I tell them it's a terrible and barbaric method; but it's effective.

Mr. Lewis did not mean "hurting" simply in a physical sense. On several occasions he reminded the class that hurting someone's feelings or revealing a secret told during the paired dream lesson was an offense punishable by paddling. By previously establishing himself as reasonable and fair, Mr. Lewis could repeatedly come to the aid of the weak against the strong without appearing to play favorites, and this protection gave the class a sense of security.

Finally, by talking with the students about their dreams and their problems and by making an effort to touch them, Mr. Lewis demonstrated warmth and concern. His manner was typically restrained when giving praise, sanctioning minor misbehavior, or taking a counseling role.

Much of the teacher's program of affective education was an attempt to implant all of the above qualities into the students' interrelationships. In sharing dreams or fantasies a good deal of trust was necessary. In the dyads, the students were forced to touch and make an explicit statement of friendship. Yet it is interesting how difficult some students found this.

Mr. Lewis had to enforce a serious atmosphere during these exercises to counteract students' giggling, joking and other nervous behavior.

In spite of all the teacher's efforts, his class, in the ethnographer's opinion, could not be considered a "happy" class. Instead, she characterized it as a "contented" class. Yet as she quickly pointed out, considering the students that he had, this was no mean accomplishment.

Integration

When the bused students first entered Mr. Lewis' class, there was a rather overt clumping of students into black versus white groups. It is not clear, however, whether this was a result of racism on the part of either group or a typical reaction of students introduced into a new setting. In truth, both factors were probably at play. Mr. Lewis' method of approaching this problem was direct. Much of what the teacher called social studies was lessons in genetics and physical and cultural anthropology. Here he openly discussed the nature of racial differences and the need for cultural relativism. In his listening lessons he often read stories about black athletes, and the problem of discrimination was again openly confronted. Mr. Lewis attempted to put the problem in historical perspective since the students seemed to have no conception of segregation or the civil rights movements.

Mr. Lewis forced students of different ethnic groups to interact by pairing them during the affective learning lessons. Seating was arranged in a similar manner. These measures were effective in breaking up the two racial groups. The change in Lane's behavior is an example. At the beginning of the study, Lane sided with the black students during arguments, regardless of issue or situation. By the end of the study he had made friends from other groups, and his decisions were based more on issue and personality than ethnic affinity.

Mr. Lewis' own feelings were complex. He stated that he was probably more protective of his black students than his white students, and the ethnographer picked this up in her observations. In certain things the teacher seemed to have a double standard. For instance, when the teacher spoke of racism in his interviews, he appeared to be referring exclusively to his white students--pointing to Keith and Wayne by name. On several occasions he mentioned that Tilly and "a group of black associates" beat up some of the white girls, but he never seemed to associate this with racism on Tilly's part. Mr. Lewis' favoring of his black students may have been beneficial in the long run since the black students seemed more racially aware than the white students. Despite this preferential treatment, both Tilly and Julia accused the teacher of prejudice.

D. CASE STUDY OF MS. GARCIA'S CLASSROOM

Ms. Garcia is Mexican American and has 18 years of teaching experience, including 14 years at Van De Camp Elementary School (the school under study). Most of her teaching experience had been with Mexican American students. The voluntary busing program added a few white and black students to her fifth-grade classroom the year of the MESE study.

Philosophy of Teaching

In her explicit statements about her instructional philosophy, Ms. Garcia saw her function almost exclusively in terms of establishing a healthy, friendly, supportive and nurturant classroom social system. The teacher made no explicit statement of her instructional philosophy as that term is generally understood. Therefore, in order to understand Ms. Garcia's teaching philosophy, it is necessary to examine daily activities within the classroom. The three major subjects--reading, math and language arts--were taught in small groups.

Ms. Garcia had three dedicated adults (an aide, a language tutor, and a student teacher) in the classroom, all of whom had aspirations of becoming teachers. Ms. Garcia utilized each as an instructor, giving each the status of teacher and allowing each to make up and present her own lessons to the class. For example, during math the class was divided into four groups. While Ms. Garcia was teaching her group "Base 5," the language tutor was presenting her lesson on Roman numerals to a second group, the student teacher was presenting hers on "the protractor and angles" to a third, and the aide was presenting yet another lesson to the fourth group. The groups would then rotate until each teacher had presented her lesson to all four groups. Reading was taught in the same manner. Because the aide left at

noon, the class was split into only three groups for language arts, which were taught in the afternoon. This system allowed each teacher to prepare only one-fourth (or one-third) of the lessons as well as teach a lesson on a topic she liked.

It is clear, however, that Ms. Garcia believed her nurturant social system was a prerequisite to academic achievement and in the right classroom environment learning would take place regardless of instructional format. The actual format she used seemed to be shaped more by the resources (people and materials) available than by an ardent commitment on her part to an instructional mode. By coincidence, the student teacher's assignment in Ms. Garcia's room ended on the same day as the MESE study, and by the end of the year both the aide and language tutor had left to take better jobs. Rather than continue her small-group instructional program, Ms. Garcia refused the offer of another student teacher, did not extend the status of instructor to her new aide, and instead, began a combination of whole-group instruction and individualized contract learning to accommodate the reduced instructional staff.

The lack of commitment to a particular instructional approach should not be taken to mean that instruction was in any way haphazard. A good deal of effort seemed to have been expended by each "teacher" to make her lesson special, and she could improve it with each group it was presented to. The instruction appeared first-rate.

In Ms. Garcia's value system, reading was of first importance. Besides the formal reading instruction in small groups, the teacher had a twenty-minute period at the beginning of class, during which students read aloud stories they had written for homework. After recess, the teacher also had

a fifteen-minute independent reading period. Physical education was neglected altogether by Ms. Garcia, and art and music were stressed.

Ms. Garcia appeared to believe that work and homework are necessary components of learning. On a number of occasions she attributed a student's slow progress in a particular area to "laziness" or said that this area needed to be worked on. One of the ways she met this problem was to gradually broaden her token economy to include classwork and homework as well as classroom behavior. As the "point system" gradually evolved, it became less an instrument to keep order and more a method of inducing students to do their work. By the time the study began, the number of points earned through good behavior was small in comparison to those earned from work-related sources. During the course of the study, Ms. Garcia stipulated that a student would not be able to go on the trips (the rewards) if his/her homework had not been completed. The seriousness with which the teacher regarded homework is indicated by the fact that it was the one thing, other than antisocial behavior, that would bring on a teacher "crisis." A crisis would occur when the teacher called the class together to discuss something or to reprimand them. On day 15 of the observation, there was a 36-minute crisis meeting to reprimand the students for not doing their homework and for being generally lazy.

Ms. Garcia's insistence that the homework be finished was a major factor in slowing down the introduction of new material. On the week prior to seeing "The Wiz," great blocks of time were given over to "catch up," during which students did work that had not been done at home.

Philosophy of Management

Superficially, it appears that Ms. Garcia's management system relied on the token economy she set up. As I have already stated, however, I do not feel that this system was an important factor in maintaining order. Instead, what I see to have been more effective, and the basis of Ms. Garcia's whole teaching philosophy, was the inculcation by the teacher and instructors and the internalization by the students of Ms. Garcia's system of ethical values. Once accepted by the students, this system of values provided the teacher and instructors with a repository of moral authority upon which their sanctions could be based.

The system was especially effective in mobilizing peer pressure against an offender, and was particularly useful in crisis situations. An example of both is the crisis meeting brought about after Toni had joined with students from other classes (including her sister) in beating up a member of her own class (Lisa). During the interrogation, the teacher asked Toni several times how she could have sided with someone from another classroom against a classmate and whether Lisa was her friend. Toni did not look up and made no attempt to answer these questions--they were grounded on the concepts of friendship and loyalty and the rules against hurting people. These were imbedded so deeply in the class value system that no justification was possible. The teacher then turned to the class and asked why none of them had come to the aid of their friend. The obvious guilt this aroused caused many verbal responses and pledges that only served to make Toni feel more isolated. So effective was Ms. Garcia's use of her moral authority and the mobilized peer pressure that it took Toni several weeks to recover from the effects of the incident, and afterwards Toni made a special effort to befriend Lisa.

The value system espoused by Ms. Garcia is similar to what she espoused as her instructional system. It consisted of such ethical concepts as: accepting responsibility for one's actions, sharing with others, respecting the rights of others, and having consideration for the feelings of others. Growing out of the above values was an entire system of etiquette that mediated activities within the class. Talking, for instance, was an ethically neutral activity, but talking while the teacher was speaking or while a classmate was reading a story was inconsiderate. The students expected to be sanctioned for this behavior. In the same way, saying "Shut up!" was always strongly sanctioned by the teacher as a violation of the general ethic of friendliness. In general, the students were well tuned into the spirit of these rules, so there was little or no confusion about what was acceptable or permissible.

Conformity to sex-role expectations was a very explicit part of Ms. Garcia's ethical-behavioral system. Although this did not involve segregated activities (although on one occasion the boys were allowed to go out for an afternoon P.E. session while the girls were not), there was a definite notion that certain behaviors were proper or improper for a boy or a girl. This was reinforced by the reprimands of the teacher and instructors:

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Rosie asks for a chair from Van . . . and has to say "Excuse me" twice. Before Van can get up, George vacates his seat, and the teacher says, "George, what a gentleman you've turned out to be." The teacher then says, in a joking manner, "The observer would do that for two reasons. He is a gentleman, and he doesn't want all four teachers on his case. The teachers expect to be treated like ladies." There is a commotion on the floor that the observer cannot see, and the teacher says, "Katherine, you don't have to put up with that." One of the male students says, "You could sit on his lap," and the teacher responds, "No, then she would not be a lady."

This system reflected Ms. Garcia's own beliefs, and was a combination of traditional American and Mexican-American sex-role ideology. On one occasion, the teacher told the ethnographer that she was offended by a beer commercial on television that showed two couples entering a bar. A woman was the first to enter, and she ordered beer for all four. In the teacher's opinion, since men were present, the woman should not have presumed to order the beer because this is a man's prerogative. Whether one agrees with Ms. Garcia or not, it should be noted that these beliefs are highly reflective of those held by the community in which she taught.

As with her instructional methods, Ms. Garcia allowed her support staff the full authority of a teacher in sanctioning students. This authority was never overruled. In both classroom ideology and actual practice, there were four teachers. This meant that there was always a teacher available to squeeze an arm, to give a disapproving look, or to signal a talker to be quiet.

There was a second and more subtle effect of having four teachers. In any classroom there are usually a few students who continually misbehave as a way of gaining the teacher's attention. Normally, it is difficult for a single teacher to direct his or her classroom activities and still deal with these students in anything but a punitive manner. The use of small-group instruction for most subjects and the presence of numerous adults at all times gave these problem students the attention they needed so that this type of management difficulty did not appear in Ms. Garcia's classroom.

Changes in the Teacher's Plans

There were two kinds of changes in the teacher's plans: 1) student prompted changes, and 2) staff prompted changes.

Student Prompted Changes

Because of the desegregation and integration program, Ms. Garcia had a number of new students who had problems she had to cope with. Often, her initial strategy did not work and she had to alter it. One instance was her modification of the way she handled Rhonda after a conference with her mother (October 28). Another occurred after the fight involving Lisa. She made a noticeable effort to get Lisa to be more assertive and stand up for her rights.

The most dramatic instance of Ms. Garcia changing her strategy was in her handling of Carl. At the beginning of the year he was always in trouble and was constantly being reprimanded. The situation steadily deteriorated as Carl rebelled. Ms. Garcia realized her strategy was not working, so she backed off and later had better success using patience and affection. Carl's outbursts of temper and aggression were easy to anticipate, as his feelings of frustration or anger showed vividly on his face. The teachers in the class tried to watch him, and usually caught him before he would explode. Generally, they would wrap their arms around him and tell him he was about to blow up. This was usually enough to calm him down. In spite of the success they had with him, he was still the biggest disciplinary problem in the class. By the end of the observation period all four teachers were still granting him deferential treatment so as not to be constantly reprimanding him. He was given more freedom to wander around the room and be off-task than any other student. The teachers were also more lenient in correcting his work than they were with other students. One time Ms. Garcia accepted the fact that Carl had not used capital letters on certain words

on a spelling test when it was her policy to mark these words wrong. Here, Carl was given special treatment in an attempt to make him feel successful.

It should be noted that all of these instances involved new students. Because Ms. Garcia had had most of the students in previous grades and because she was well acquainted with their home situations, little modification of her treatment of indigenous students was required.

Staff Prompted Changes

By far, the greatest number of important changes stemmed from Ms. Garcia's treating her staff as full-fledged teachers and allowing them to have a voice in running the class. Daily disruption of plans often occurred when Ms. Garcia deferred to the wishes of one of the staff to have a certain group of students during math or reading. These changes were minor, and not even seen as inconveniences, but the teacher also allowed change in the organization of the class. Rosie, the student teacher, a bright, strong-willed woman, took the greatest advantage of the opportunity. Rosie desired more structure and was more authoritarian than Ms. Garcia in dealing with students. During the course of the study, the class came more and more to reflect her personality. Rosie created many of the procedural rules, such as: "no pencils on the rugged area," "no talking during independent reading," "no trading in books during independent reading," and "saying 'yes' instead of 'yeah' in answer to questions." In setting up the learning centers she established very detailed rules about procedures and the number of people who could work at the centers at one time.

Finally, although it did not occur during the study, major changes were caused by shifts in the staff. At first this was simply because of personnel changes and philosophical differences between the three assistants. Toward

the end of the year radical changes in instruction were brought about by the departure of the aide and language tutor and the arrival of a new aide.

It is difficult to assess the effects these later changes had on the class since there were no daily observations at that time. Ms. Garcia, with her upbeat, optimistic personality, always found some bright spot in the change. So in talking to her one would conclude that every change was for the better. The students appeared to pick this up and take the changes in stride.

Classroom Social System

In all of her explicit statements, Ms. Garcia saw her primary responsibility as a teacher to be in the social realm rather than the academic. In defining her goals for her students, for instance, she ignored the academic side completely and said:

OK, what I want from them is to be able to relate, really relate, with each other, to be able to feel each other, to experience a relationship that years later when they are adults they can always have that feeling that they had a good friend, that they had good experiences. . . . Feeling good about themselves, feeling good about each other, learning how to make it in society.

The classroom social system was the vehicle for promoting these ends and therefore received much attention from the teacher. To achieve the desired classroom setting, Ms. Garcia focused primarily on three areas: 1) establishing or reinforcing a good self-image in her students; 2) developing in them a strong sense of individual responsibility; and 3) fostering warm and friendly interpersonal relationships among them.

Ms. Garcia's strategy for bolstering student self image began with creating an individual niche for each student. Then, during activities at

which a particular student excelled, the teacher would stop the classroom activity to focus attention and approval on that individual or his work. As Ms. Garcia said:

I try to give everyone in the class a uniqueness so he can feel his place. The students can relate to each other and be recognized, and can say that "Hey . . . they're listening to me."

This individuality was then reinforced in numerous ways, as when the teacher dismissed the class at the end of day 13:

[T]he teacher begins dismissing the students. She does this individually, and just says, "I will dismiss the girl who will stand on her own two feet." Lisa gets up and leaves. She then says, "I will dismiss my dear heart in green." Trina gets up and leaves. "I will dismiss someone who came back from chicken pox." Delia gets up and leaves. She continues in this individual fashion.

At other times, Ms. Garcia would not dismiss the students until they said something positive about themselves in front of the class. Interestingly, the teacher had more difficulty eliciting responses to this method early in the observation period than later (day three versus day 13.)

The teacher also had certain students (Toni, Lisa, and Monica) tutor others in the lower grades. This was an ego-building mechanism. Peer tutors were also widely used within the class, and this also had an ego-building effect. It is true, however, that the tutoring was usually done by several of the brighter students (Betty, Roberta), who had the least need for the reinforcement. One has to wonder if the tutoring did not reinforce the negative self image of those receiving the aid.

The emphasis Ms. Garcia placed on individual responsibility emanated from her conviction that learning must come from the students:

I feel that it has to come from the youngster. Once it comes from within the youngsters, then really true growth begins to happen, growth that can never be taken away.

Exit Interview, p. 7

The teacher placed a lot of importance on students voluntarily passing up points by admitting that their behavior was deficient during a lesson. She saw this as a positive sign that they were taking responsibility for their own actions.

Finally, much of Ms. Garcia's time and effort went into shaping the interpersonal relationships among the students. Her efforts in this regard had been quite successful. Aggressive behavior--such as pushing, shoving, poking, and aggressive "posturing"--so common in many classrooms, was rare in this classroom. A pecking order among the boys, based on strength and athletic ability, was weak in this class. Carl and Abbott, the two most aggressive boys, had been assigned marginal social positions precisely because of their aggressive behavior.

Integration

Ms. Garcia's attitude toward the desegregation program was essentially negative, her main objection being to the intrusion of new students into her class. As an exercise, Ms. Garcia was asked what changes she would make if she had unlimited funds and complete authority over her class. Her first response was that she would close the class to any new students. When the district's desegregation program began in the middle of the previous year, she was given five new students. She found this to be extremely disruptive. Not only were these students very slow to fit into her system, but she felt they made the rest of the class slip backward. Ms. Garcia felt that the individual schools had used the D and I Program to ship out their problem students, and the parents had used it to escape a situation in which their child was not making it. In either case, the bused students were seen by the teacher as behavioral problems or social misfits. Although Ms. Garcia

was cool to the idea of busing, she did not mention having any problems with her students this year.

On the positive side, the teacher liked the multiethnic make-up of her post busing class.

What I do like from it is that I do have more blue eyed blonde hair children among my Mexicans, my blacks. I like the makeup of the class and I sort of wish that the teachers hadn't been heavily towards Mexican teachers: I wish that we did have, as we have an Anglo teacher and we do have two Mexican teachers and we had one Mexican student teacher-- I kind of wish that there was room to bring in another teacher, and I would like this person to be black.

Exit Interview, pp. 20-21

Ms. Garcia was not able to get a black in one of her support positions; however, she occasionally used parents who visited the class as aides. More frequently, she used Beth's (the aide) boy friend, Frank (a black), on his visits. On one occasion, she had Frank take George and Carl (the two black male students) out of the room for a discussion of their problems, since they had not been getting along with each other.

The teacher downplayed ethnicity, and ethnic tags were almost never used. In one instance the teacher mentioned that a certain discovery was made by a Mexican, and in another that the first place finishers in both the men's and women's divisions of a local marathon were Chinese from Taiwan. It was in this context--the recognition of some accomplishment--that ethnicity was referred to, but even here, as has been stated, it was rare. With the exception of Carl, the students followed the teacher's example. At the beginning of the school year, Carl had called a number of students "wetback" or "honky," and toward the end of the study Carl stated that a boy had called him "nigger." The circumstances surrounding the latter incident strongly suggest, however, that Carl had fabricated this as a justification

for having hit the boy and should therefore best be seen as a reflection of Carl's attitudes toward ethnicity. With the exception of this one student, the teacher's methods seemed to be fairly successful in keeping ethnicity from becoming an important factor in the way the students related.

Ms. Garcia was aware of ethnic differences. She saw her Mexican and black students as lacking self confidence, and her Anglo students as being a bit more confident as well as more coddled or spoiled. Although aware of these differences, the teacher said that she treated each of the students as an individual. The classroom observations tend to bear this out. Once again, Carl is a good example (see Changes in the Teacher's Plans).

Although Carl's case is the most dramatic example of personalized treatment, cases could be produced for the Anglo and Mexican students as well. Ms. Garcia's success with these students, however, was based on her recognition of individual differences as well as ethnic differences. This was important because of the tremendous individual variation within an ethnic category. Among the blacks, for instance, Carl was moody, defensive, and often sullen and aggressive. George, however, was warm, friendly, well-liked, open, and easygoing. Toni was quiet, shy, and well-behaved. And Tina was friendly and well-liked, but soft-spoken. Only Carl was a serious behavior problem. George and Toni were academic problems, and Ms. Garcia had to work to get them to produce.

PART III: COMPARATIVE CONCLUSIONS

David Cohen (1979) has pointed out that classroom teaching is an unavoidably social process. Every technical decision about curriculum content, instructional strategy, and classroom organization carries with it some social consequence, be it large or small. For our purposes however, it often makes sense for us to act as though these consequences do not exist, qualifying our studies of teacher behavior with expressions such as "other things being equal." But the teacher and the teacher educator cannot indulge in the luxury of experimental control, assumption of the randomness of error in large samples, or concentration on a tiny handful of classroom variables to the exclusion of all others.

Alternatively, other researchers and educators have made persuasive arguments for the importance of recognizing complexity, simultaneity, and interactiveness in teaching (e.g., Jackson, 1968; Doyle, 1979). The sense in which these concepts come alive in the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project study data is more specific than the statement "life in classrooms is complex." Specifically, it appears that some of the teachers in this study worked within elaborate, commercially published curriculum systems embodying values and interaction patterns that conflicted with those held by the teachers, their students, and the larger community. A curriculum system that maximizes individualized instruction in reading, for example, may be consistent with a desire for high gains in reading achievement. Yet if this same system--with its attendant pattern of classroom organization and management--isolates individuals, perpetuates and exaggerates individual aptitudes and learning differences, penalizes students for constructive social interaction, and casts the

teacher in the role of nagging taskmaster, then the classroom environment is at best unpleasant and at worst chaotic.

Mr. Lewis, our teacher at Hooper School, seemed sensitive to the need for a balance between the classroom social system and the curriculum and instructional system. His first priority was to maintain a constructive classroom social system that was a foundation for school learning. Mr. Lewis reported that, in the past, he had a classroom that was "individualized to a ridiculous extent," but he later abandoned this approach in favor of his present classroom organization, which he felt was balanced between group and individual activities. Mr. Lewis' very positive, firm, and protective relationship with his students minimized disciplinary and management problems in his classroom. Early in the school year he spent a lot of time and energy developing a clear and consistent relationship of mutual respect with his students, which was later rewarded by student cooperation and willingness to learn.

In contrast, Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker appeared to operate instructional systems that placed them in adversary relationships with their students. Ms. Baker was new to Jefferson Elementary School, and she tried to implement a way of teaching that had served her well in the past. Unfortunately, her students at Jefferson had very different ethnic backgrounds and school experience histories, and a much wider range of academic achievement than did her predominantly white, middle-class students of previous years. Rather than adjust her classroom organization and methods of teaching to her students' expectations and abilities, Ms. Baker tried to fit the students into the procrustean bed of her favored approach. When she found that this approach was not working, her responses were to try harder at enforcing her

system (by becoming more punitive) and to blame failure on factors beyond her control (e.g., "there ought to be a law . . . where you do not receive children who are hopelessly behind").

Mr. Williams also appeared trapped in a classroom organization that forced him to play the unpleasant role of taskmaster: he nagged and threatened his students to work hard on individual seatwork exercises. A large proportion of his communication with students was directed at stopping them from talking or interacting with one another. His students resisted these attempts at control, and the net result seemed to be frustration with school.

In Ms. Garcia's classroom, on the other hand, all instruction seemed to be done in small groups, with an adult (the teacher, aide, student teacher, or language tutor) working with each group. This situation was unusual in that all four adults were experienced teachers. As was the case in Mr. Lewis' class, Ms. Garcia placed a high priority on social and affective classroom processes. It seemed however, that Ms. Garcia was much less optimistic about her students' ability to learn than was Mr. Lewis. This lack of optimism resulted in a substitution of affective and social goals for cognitive and instructional goals, and deflected the process of building cognitive achievement upon the foundation of a constructive social system.* Ms. Garcia's classroom was also characterized by an overwhelming emphasis on extrinsic rewards (field trips) for cooperative behavior. This is in direct contrast to Mr. Lewis' emphasis on the intrinsic, immediate, and interpersonal rewards of achievement and personal development. Ms. Garcia's token economy system (points for field trips) met with mixed success because of the relatively

* James Brady had a quite different assessment of this issue, based upon his presence in Ms. Garcia's classroom as an ethnographer. His viewpoint is presented in an appendix, "Additional Discussion by James Brady."

long delays in receiving rewards, the practical difficulties in excluding some children, and the arbitrariness and inconsistency in administering this system (e.g., "If the citizenship factor is bad, they talk themselves out of the trip . . . no matter how many points they have").

PART IV: IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER TRAINING

A particularly subtle problem arises when individualized systems, oriented to a lot of seatwork, are implemented in multicultural settings. This mode of instruction makes it possible to minimize social and academic interaction among students of different racial and cultural backgrounds, even when they populate the same classroom. This can happen either intentionally or unintentionally, but the net result is violation of the spirit of the laws passed to create a genuinely integrated society.

In this analyst's opinion, classroom situations of this sort result from a combination of factors--including, economic competition among businesses selling curriculum materials, and an operationally simplified view of the classroom on the part of researchers, curriculum developers, and school administrators. The answer is not to train our teachers in "with-it-ness" so that they can more persuasively but rigorously control their children and force them to behave as the curriculum developers would have it. Rather, teachers should analyze and, if necessary, alter even the most smoothly packaged curriculum materials so as to achieve a balance between the classroom social system and the instructional system. Like cigarettes and other potentially hazardous materials, curriculum systems should probably be labeled with warnings such as "Caution: these units may be hazardous to your social system." Teachers should be trained to be informed and prudent consumers and curriculum adaptors.

Importance of the First Weeks of School

At least three studies support the notion that the social and instructional organization of a classroom is established rapidly during the first days and weeks of the school year (Tikunoff and Ward, 1978; Buckley and Cooper, 1978; Schultz and Florio, in press). These studies show that establishing the basic classroom organization, rules, procedures, and routines constitutes the business of the first weeks in September and forms a framework within which the work of the remainder of the school year is planned, conducted, and evaluated. The present study was originally designed to take place during these crucial initial days and weeks of school so as to provide some insight into how classroom organization develops. Unfortunately, practical and logistical factors changed the design such that data were collected well after the first five weeks of school. The absence of rule-setting and other signs of "getting organized" in the present data indicates that these activities had been taken care of long before the study began.

Although we missed much of interest because of the unavoidable design changes, two recommendations for future research, and possibly for teacher education, can be derived from our study. First, in future research there must be a full description of how the classroom came to be organized, including factors such as teacher decisions, plans, negotiations with students, and expectations, as well as external factors. Second, it is important to work with teachers in the week or two before students actually arrive at school because many of the key decisions and preparations are made well before Labor Day. If a study's goal is to understand the classroom as a complex social system, then researchers must avail themselves of as much information bearing on that system as can be discovered.

A related suggestion, which concerns teacher education rather than research on teaching, is that a teaching candidate's practicum experience might be more beneficial if it came at the beginning of the school year. Typically, an undergraduate's practicum or practice teaching experience takes place at the mutual convenience of the university faculty and the cooperating teachers. Yet perhaps the very crucial skills and competencies that lay the foundation for a successful school year are exercised only during this brief preparatory time. The typical practicum experience provides the teacher trainee with training in operating the classroom system in a steady state, after almost all of the degrees of freedom have been used up. How much more challenging and professionally relevant it would be to train prospective teachers in planning a curriculum and class structure! If educators could apply the idea of a school and its progress reflecting and being responsive to the values, cultural background, and social milieu of the community of which it is a part, then the entire learning experience would be more successful. In this regard, new teachers at a school could spend some part of the late summer getting to know the community, visiting the homes of their prospective students, and basing their instructional and social system on the values and customs of the larger community in which their students live.

Communicating the Plan and Transitions

One of the implications of viewing teaching as an inherently social process is that, as Walter Doyle (1979) has pointed out, cooperation is necessary for learning or any other productive activity to occur. Doyle theorizes that much of the energy expended in classroom interaction is invested in obtaining student cooperation and maintaining or nurturing a cooperative atmosphere. One of the ways in which cooperation can be fostered is through clear and

timely communication of the teacher's plan to his or her students. Yet, in the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project study data, we see many examples of inadequate, unclear, and ill-timed communication of teacher plans and expectations to students. From these data and from this analyst's research on the progress of teacher planning, it appears that teachers often forget that their plans cannot be carried out successfully unless the students are made aware of the plans and of what their participation will be, and are allowed to choose to cooperate in this classroom process.

Planning itself is given inadequate attention in preservice and inservice teacher preparation, but usually it is addressed at some level. Communication of plans to students, however, is almost never addressed. Yet, whether a plan is merely a grandiose entry in a plan book or becomes the description of a lesson or activity well executed depends on the quality of this communication between teacher and students.

Communication of teacher plans (or the absence of communication) is particularly important at times of transition between one activity or subject matter and another. This communication need not be simply oral. Part of it can be materials organized by the teacher--diagrams, routine configurations, such as reading groups, and even pantomime. Essentially, however, the more imaginative the thought invested in communication of teacher plans to students, the more likely those plans will come to fruition without undue confusion, delay, or backtracking. Training exercises could be established for both experienced teachers and preservice candidates in which they create and practice communicating a plan in several different ways and then obtain feedback on the clarity, motivational quality, and completeness of these communications.

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APPENDIX

DISCUSSION BY JAMES BRADY

One of the critical differences between the effective and less effective teachers lies in their classroom social systems. Ms. Garcia and Mr. Lewis established strong classroom social systems in which they played central roles. This writer feels that one of the most basic rewards of any social system is its recognition and validation of an individual's identity. Both Ms. Garcia and Mr. Lewis stated that they stressed the uniqueness of each student. In doing this, both teachers insured that the students received social recognition. This in turn elicited a strong emotional commitment on the part of the students to the system. Because the teachers were in the position of dispensing social recognition, they had a great deal of leverage in dealing with misbehavior. One of the most effective controls that Ms. Garcia and Mr. Lewis used was the mobilization of classroom sentiment against a rule breaker, since this implied ostracism of the guilty party and his/her loss of good standing within the group. Clearly, the classroom social systems organized by Ms. Garcia and Mr. Lewis did not condone misbehavior, and instead, conferred status only on conformity and achievement.

Christopher Clark is of the opinion that Ms. Garcia substituted social goals for academic achievement because she was not optimistic about her students' abilities to learn. He feels that she did not use the positive social system she created to achieve similar academic gains. This analyst disagrees with Dr. Clark's assessment on two particulars. I feel that Dr. Clark has placed too much attention on Ms. Garcia's social pronouncements, both in her interviews and in the classroom setting. By focusing on what she was saying, he fails to observe that there was a good deal of first-rate instruction

going on, that students were relatively attentive to that instruction, and that this success was due to the effectiveness of the teacher's social system. Second, Dr. Clark fails to appreciate Ms. Garcia's approach, perhaps because, ironically, he has left the ethnic factor out of his analysis of the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project study.

A number of authors (Carter, 1970; Hishiki, 1968) have noted that Mexican-American children have poor self images. Carter (1970: 53-54) raises the possibility that this may be an impediment to learning. Ms. Garcia's emphasis on the classroom social system was perhaps an attempt to address this problem. In actual practice, instruction was not slighted by this emphasis. On the contrary, this emphasis created a favorable environment for cognitive achievement.

Mr. Williams and Ms. Baker did not overtly build a social system. Instead, they set up an adversary relationship that pitted the teacher's authority against the students' will. This allowed a "student" social system to evolve in which the ethos and reward structure were formed by the students. In this system the teachers (especially Ms. Baker) played no positive role and had little control. In Ms. Baker's class, for instance, the "student" social structure conferred recognition on a student for misbehavior and gamesmanship.

We have clearly seen situations where the classroom social systems worked to the teachers' benefit (in the classrooms of Ms. Garcia and Mr. Lewis) and to their detriment (in the classrooms of Ms. Baker and Mr. Williams). Each teacher's relative effectiveness in the classroom was due in part to the commitment of the students to the teacher-sanctioned social system and to the teacher's degree of participation in the system.

Another important component of Ms. Garcia's and Mr. Lewis' social systems was their ethical codes. Both teachers set up explicit ethical canons that mediated much of the interaction with the classroom. By accepting the rewards of the system, the students were compelled to accept the moral codes as well. By basing their sanctions on these socially-accepted norms, the teachers conferred authority to their sanctions that never failed to elicit student support. Ms. Baker's case is an instructive example to the contrary. She attempted to impart an ideological system based on her own values of education, but without control of the social system she met with little success. She also seemed disturbed by the verbal abuse to which her black students subjected her and themselves. Yet lacking an alternative system, she did not have the wherewithal to resocialize them.

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Multi- Ethnic School Environments



ANTICIPATORY SOCIALIZATION FOR
TOMORROW'S SOCIETY

Gene N. Levine

An analysis commissioned by the
Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project

Leonard C. Beckum,
Principal Investigator



Report MESE-79-1c.3



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PART I: ANALYSIS DESIGN

Background. The Multi-Ethnic School Environments (MESE) Project set out in the fall of 1978 to gauge specific teacher-training needs in newly desegregated schoolrooms.¹ The Valley City Unified School District was the locus of the study. Valley City is a small industrial city of some 100,000 in inland southern California. It is far enough by freeway from Los Angeles to be nonmetropolitan in character. Largely working-class, the city presents a mix of whites (Anglos), blacks, and Mexican Americans, as well as a small proportion of families who are of Asian and Native American origin.²

The MESE Project qualitative data were sought in four upper-level classrooms, each located in a grammar school situated in a socially distinct quarter of the city. Field workers witnessed (and mechanically recorded) happenings ordinary and extraordinary within the selected settings over a 25-day period (mid-October to Thanksgiving).³ At the beginning and at the end of the observation period they also interviewed, in detail, according to a prescribed guide, the four teachers involved in the study. The teachers were further called upon to offer their own interpretations of the events before them. They did so by providing commentary on each day's proceedings.⁴ Essentially, an effort was mounted to provide four continuous records of classroom actions and interactions for the entire observation period. The data, once gathered, transcribed, and edited, were scrutinized by four secondary analysts.

The Valley City Unified School District is under court order to implement a plan for desegregation so as to bring more children of different ethnic and racial backgrounds together in the same classrooms.⁵ Since the small city is segregated de facto, some children have begun to take bus trips to and

from school (never for any great distance in so small a city) in order to help achieve the wanted mix.

The four schools in which observations were taken last fall reflect their racially and ethnically segregated environs more than the results of efforts at desegregation. And so do the subject classrooms. The first school is in a black neighborhood. Of 257 pupils enrolled at the time of the study, 84 percent were black. A black man taught the 30 black fifth (and a few fourth) graders studied in this setting.

The second school is also in a black neighborhood. At the time of the study, a majority of its 222 pupils were black and Mexican-American (more of the former). The minority of white children had been transported to this largely minority school. In addition to the 24 black sixth (and some fifth) graders under study here, there were four whites and four Mexican Americans, and one American Indian. The teacher is a white woman.

The third school is situated in a white, middle-class neighborhood. In late October 1978, one in five of its 280 students were of minority background. Of 34 children in the classroom chosen for observation, 11 were black or Mexican-American bus riders. The male teacher is white.

Most of the some 160 students in the smaller fourth school were Mexican-American. Taught by a Mexican American, the fifth-grade class of 30 selected for study included five blacks and two whites.⁶

Method. From the outset it was not the intention of this analyst to quantify happenings recorded in the field notes.⁷ It might, for example, have been possible to count the number of times each of the four teachers gave one or more of his charges a command that was disobeyed. Apart from the sheer

incidence of errant acts, it was reasoned that an examination of their contexts and consequences might prove more telling. Once more, it might have been possible to enumerate incidents in which teachers dealt differently with different children, but a tally could not reveal bases of differential treatment.

Hence, classroom transcripts and related materials were studied in the following way. A reading of early Project notes brought this analyst familiarity with the commonplace and extraordinary events of the 25-day observation period. When the observations were begun, the activities in each of the schoolrooms had become largely routine, predictable by both teachers (and aides) and students. Interaction was thus observed to occur in patterned ways. Schedules were followed. Teachers and pupils knew the rules, and compliance was usual. There appeared to be little participation by the children in the formulation of the rules, less in their modification. There were almost no rebels.

A reading of the full set of proceedings affirmed the originally perceived orderliness of schoolroom events. Surprises were few. One day, one week largely foretold the next. The task was first, then, an apprehension of the four milieux in terms of compliance. A disorderly event also served to identify even an unarticulated rule. One day in Mr. Williams' classroom, a fistfight erupted--a street scene was enacted in the schoolroom. The episode was traumatic, the reaction severe. After the eruption, the whole corpus of rules was only strengthened.

In this report, features of the normative systems of four classrooms are described, each in turn. An attempt was made to site salient features of the normative system--the distribution of authority, for example. Only the teachers gave orders and imposed penalties for disobedience. Penalties included suspension, notes written to the home, temporary removal of an apparent privilege, such as access at specified times to the playground or inclusion in an outing, and

even modified forms of corporal punishment (meted out by a higher authority--the principal--if not by the teacher). Attention focused, too, on activities that typified the classroom scene (economic, for example) and on the absence of others (political, for example).

After each of the classrooms is scrutinized in the case studies that follow, both common and distinguishing elements are discussed in Part III. Finally, some implications for teacher training are considered in Part IV.

PART II: CASE STUDIES

A. CASE STUDY OF MR. WILLIAMS' CLASSROOM

In the fall of 1978 La Cumbre had a mainly black enrollment (84 percent). Of the forty white pupils, 29 were enrolled in a new academic kindergarten, to which they were brought from other parts of town. Like other boys and girls in minority schools in Valley City, those in La Cumbre scored relatively low on objective measures of academic ability.

The instructor, Mr. Williams, is a 33-year-old black man. Of the 30 pupils under study (17 boys and 12 girls), all were black. There were two blacks on the school's faculty of 12. The principal and assistant principal were white.

Morale in the school and in the classroom was initially perceived to be high. As one of the observers noted early in the field period:

There seems to be a certain degree of pride, I felt, at least from a couple who mentioned that we are--I can't recall the phrase--but that this is a good school, and we're proud of it, and gave this as the reason for the children behaving even better when a visitor was in the room, because they were showing off how proud and pleased they were with their school.

According to the teacher in the observed classroom (Mr. Williams), however, spirits were very low among the faculty at the time, largely because they believed that the principal was excluding them from decision making.

Mr. Williams had had eleven years' teaching experience, nine in Valley City, eight at La Cumbre --entirely with minority students. He described himself as a "traditional" teacher, apparently meaning that he stresses the acquisition of basic skills. He believed that "there are certain things that students have to know in order to function in society"--to be interpreted as including attitudes and behavior as well as cognitions.

The teacher furthered his central goal--preparing his students for adult roles--through the establishment of a social system geared to productivity. The classroom prefigured for the students the world of offices and shops in which most of them would eventually work.⁸ The essential operative norms called them to complete their work, and to complete it on time. The lesson implanted, they might achieve future success. The compliant student was defined as "responsible." "Responsibility" entailed sustained productivity.

As the field period progressed, Mr. Williams encountered fewer "behavior problems." A student with such a problem was one who failed to apprehend or to appreciate the central expectation of sustained productivity. By the fifth week, the teacher said:

that this is the best one [class] of all. Looking over the total classroom, it is apparent to me that students, for the most part, have adjusted to my classroom.* They have adjusted to the point where those who had been constantly displaying undesirable behavior have almost ceased to exhibit these behaviors.

The teacher continued throughout to encounter pupils who failed to fulfill his chief expectation and work assiduously toward his chief goal. Apparently they failed to do so, not because they remained ignorant of the expectation, but because they rejected it or granted it a lower priority. The teacher wanted a workroom; some were bent on play. By the end of the field period, it was evident that he still faced pockets of resistance. When asked about classroom problems, he remarked:

The problems . . . are those students who are constantly up and out of their desks. They are capable students, but they are exhibiting behaviors that won't allow them to complete their assigned tasks in the classroom.

"Adjusted," "responsible" pupils came to adhere to the regimen of productivity. No pupil ever exceeded the mandate. No pupil did too much work or turned it in too early. But the noncompliant did too little, too poorly, too late.

*All emphasis is the data analyst's.

By the teacher's account, performance improved overall during the 25-day field period. Greater compliance was gained through these devices:

- 1) The teacher rewarded compliance. Mr. Williams praised satisfactory work, gave candy treats, and, most important, encouraged achievement by working supportively with individual students.
- 2) The teacher withheld or threatened to withhold what students valued. Students highly valued play--free time. The teacher defined recess as a privilege that could be withdrawn, not as a right. He stated that he used
the threat of not having recess if assignments were not complete. This pressure produced completing the active assignments from the majority of students within the allotted time period. Students appeared to be more responsible for their own work.⁹
3. The teacher could and did physically punish a child. On occasion, Mr. Williams employed or threatened to employ the paddle. The children appeared to respect, not to fear him, however. They joked with him about paddling (some knew harsher punishment at home). (The teacher theorized that corporal punishment improves behavior. When asked if his "boss" [the principal] applied the paddle, he countered that there were more effective kinds of punishment for older people.)
- 4) The teacher harnessed or threatened to harness the cooperation of his role partners. (a) Vertical Authority--higher authorities (the principal, the assistant principal) were enlisted to handle an offender. When an exceptional fight occurred on November 7th,
[t]he students were sent to the office for a few minutes. In a few minutes, the teacher followed. The teacher returned to the room, and discussed with the students the rule of fighting in the classroom and the consequences of fighting in the classroom. Students were told to continue with work; the teacher would be busy for about three or four minutes, filling out suspension forms.

In the teacher's judgment, the fight was functional:

I think that since the fight and the events that occurred after the fight--students being suspended from school, teacher talking to students--the classroom rules have been reiterated and reinforced I think that they are at a point where they can accept the responsibility and they know that they are responsible for all actions--or all behavior.

After the fracas there was stricter adherence to the entire system of rules among the noncombatants. There were fewer "behavior problems." (b) Lateral Authority--the teacher had extensive (but largely unobserved) dealings with parents and surrogates. They were enlisted to forward the goal of classroom productivity in these ways: first, they oversaw homework (parents were expected to be "responsible" too); second, they provided information and insights relevant to improving pupil performance; and third, they were expected to punish their offspring at home (according to their wont) for violations of classroom rules. The teacher's threat of involving the parent was often enough to forestall a violation.

Although Mr. Williams sought to curb noncompliance with the central norms of the classroom by the variety of mechanisms already cited, another method may have been of the greatest importance. The teacher enlisted the pupils' collaboration in pursuit of ends that came to be commonly recognized. His goal was, or became, their goal. Once they accepted the goal, error would diminish:

"You know what you have to do. You have your books. You are capable of doing the work, but for some reason you don't think you have to do it. There is some reason. Why do these things have to happen? Why do you come to class?" Student replies, "Learn my work." Teacher says, "What do you have to learn?" Student says, "The times tables." Teacher says, "Okay, if you don't know your times tables you can't learn the work that comes after. You must know this because we'll be going into division and fractions. This group is goofing off. You can learn. There is nothing wrong with your heads. You can learn. . . ."

Ordinarily, when Mr. Williams exhorted his pupils to learn, he meant that they could learn collectively, that the level of group performance could be improved. It was implied that individual effort would promote the common good. Group achievement would then belie the charge that minority children cannot learn because they lack the capacity.

Do ghetto children themselves believe that they cannot learn? The teacher's methodology could have had wider importance, for beliefs can stimulate or inhibit action. He was ever aware that his children are minority children, and that this is a disability to be overcome. Consider this scene:

The teacher is seated at the aide's table speaking with Bruce, who had been playing with an eraser in his desk. The teacher says, "It's going to be hard enough on you because of your color, young man. Let alone being stupid. You are here to help yourself, not anyone else. Now, go over there and get busy."

Mr. Williams was preparing to the utmost his boys and girls for competition individually and collectively in an adult world that is largely white. He was not the only one in the environs concerned about the ability of black children to make their way. On November 14th, the observer had this encounter:

I'm returning to duty from restroom. Time 11:20. A woman stops me and says "What is that?" She refers to two white men and a white woman hopscotching with three little black kids." I say, "I don't know. I haven't seen them before." I hadn't seen her before either. She says, "That ain't education. That ain't teaching them to read and write and compete with the white man."

The teacher was preparing his pupils for eventual competition with "the white man." Within the classroom, however, contest was absent. The boys and girls under study were being readied for a ferocious world, but to the point that they could only hear its echoes. Whatever the functions of cooperation, of group effort in shaping the personality and in facilitating social relationships, its dysfunctions are evident when one contemplates a society bedded on individual achievement--even one so close as junior high school.

B. CASE STUDY OF MS. BAKER'S CLASSROOM

Jefferson Elementary, a Fine Arts Magnet, is located in a neighborhood that has become black in recent years. Some now call it "Little Watts." The school had eight teachers last fall, and 225 pupils--eight out of ten of minority background. Sixty-nine percent of the school children were black. The teacher (Ms. Baker), a 47-year-old white woman, was new to the school, although she had taught in the Valley City School District for 21 years and elsewhere for four years. Just previously, she had taught in a school with a minority of Jewish students who had impressed her with their "excellent study habits," apparently implanted by their parents. Indeed, Ms. Baker's principal goal last year was to inculcate good study habits in her students. Her present charges patently lacked them.

According to the teacher, the sixth-graders at hand had "an eight-year span in academic abilities." They were mostly black, 23 at the start of the field period, 18 at its end. There were also four whites, four Chicanos, and one Native American. Significantly, there was a classroom next door for the mentally gifted wherein most of the pupils were white.

The teacher did not stress differences among cultures in the materials she used during the field period,¹⁰ nor did she act toward boys and girls according to their racial or ethnic particularities. Altercations among pupils did arise where racial or ethnic identification came into play. For example, the observer noted one day that

Michael was calling Gilbert a Mexican wetback and the aide told him that he wasn't to do, that he was to never do it; that it was a derogatory term.

Again:

Robin has been called a nigger by one of the children. He says, "I ain't no nigger." The teacher says, "Do I have any takers?" She looks around and the children seem to be going toward her and saying that they want to play. Robin tells Jimmy, "You scared of white people? You scared cause I seen the people that come around here." Jimmy tells him that he's not afraid and that he should be by his house sometime where Jimmy beats up quite a lot of white people. Jimmy says, "That's dead, that's dead." The teachers hears the boys talking and says, "Those are at-home words, and I don't want you to use them in this classroom."

The teacher apparently believes that racial slurs, learned at home, should be corrected at home. But if they are prohibited in the classroom, the child may learn that they are inappropriate in the broader society that school represents. Whether or not such a prohibition modifies attitudes long ago acquired is open to question.

Ms. Baker worked with her colleague next door to bring children of different backgrounds together on the playground. "We can't have a false atmosphere; it has to evolve naturally," she stated. It was, she went on to say,

[an] attempt of myself and the teacher who teaches that room to have the children meet each other on a natural level and become friends. This would not be a completely artificial situation where we did have 20% Caucasians on the campus, but were never introduced to each other except in passing. Our attempted method of solving this was to introduce them to PE games about 40 minutes a week and on different days, because both she and I have restrictions of academic achievement before they can go out for PE or outside room activities. It isn't a constant, "You will do this, regardless." It is really viewed as an outside activity, which is a reward.

Promoting integration was not, however, Ms. Baker's principal goal.

Ms. Baker worked to foster individual achievement so that her pupils would become better equipped for competitive situations to come--junior high and high school first, next college, then the world of work. In grammar school, in her classroom, children should acquire the attitudinal prerequisites for achieving success in the larger, meritocratic world beyond. "My work is to

change children's attitudes and procedures," she stated.

I am a firm believer in teaching the child--not teaching subject matter to people. I think that teaching subject matter definitely has its place in the field of education, but at the elementary level, children are just beginning. They can formulate so many good and bad study patterns, social patterns, that probably the best thing a classroom teacher [can do] for a child, in my view, is to give him a good foundation in attitudes and in study skills.

To instill good study habits in her pupils, the teacher utilized a system of rewards to modify behavior that spanned the simple (candy treats), the more complex (Achievement Awards), and the most elaborate:¹¹

They get an Achievement Award and a Behavior Award at the end of five weeks, they either get to eat lunch with me or they get a Frisbee, that kind of thing.

And:

I try the pat, stroke, hand contact, eye approval, smile, cheery voice, to approve those things which are positive, even to the point of bribery. You get an eraser if you do this, you get candies if you do that. I do not believe that that is the wrong type of motivation. Lots of people would disagree. They would say, "School is school, and you do not bribe anybody. They just go and they learn." Well, obviously, that's very good in print. It isn't going to work. You have to have some kind of outside motivation for a child to change a behavior pattern. Now, what I'm really talking about are methods of discipline. That's really how I dealt with problem children in my room. I really tried over the long haul to change their mental outlook. And in changing the way they think about given problems, they will react to them in a more mature manner.

The problem child was defined as neither wanting to nor knowing how to accomplish the tasks set for him. Most of her students were problems because they had deficient conceptions about what lies beyond sixth grade. The teacher aimed to ready them for the course ahead.

I think the answer for me in dealing with these kids is to just keep going over the same ground rules over and over. If I make it with 50% of those that I'm charged with . . . whether I'm successful in having them self-directed, independent workers that are conceivably ready for Junior High, if I can do that, I think I can say I had a most successful year.

Not all of her techniques bolstered that end, however, given other goals.

The teacher believed strongly that good study habits, necessary for high achievement, are based upon correct attitudes. But she also believed that the home contributes to a child's academic performance. According to Ms. Baker, not all home settings provide fertile ground:

Many of these youngsters should never have gotten to sixth grade with the proficiency skills that they have. They just don't have them. Study habits are another thing. I'm a firm believer that study habits, you begin in first grade, and you nurture them. For some reason or other, this group of children was not nurtured in the field of study habits. I would not blame it on any particular colleague. I will say that in the school I'm teaching at, there has been a 100% turnover of teaching personnel in the last year and a half. I don't think that teachers can do everything. I do think that the attitudes must come from the home. And, I do think that if college people such as yourself [the observer] were going to improve the schoolrooms, particularly minority schoolrooms, I think your education would do well to start with the parents to have this drive for achievement, again, at home.

To make the point that the home environment largely determines a child's academic accomplishments, Ms. Baker cited her experience with Jewish children, all of whom she considered overachievers.

It's the Jewish families. There is no such thing as an average achiever in a Jewish household. They are all geniuses. And if you aren't a genius today, honey, just wait awhile, day after tomorrow you will be. And then they work, I mean that they really work to see that the kid meets this level of whatever they want him to get at, and it's usually over-achievement, and they will settle for nothing less. If I had a way of indoctrinating people, I would like to see, not that extreme level that I just described, but someplace in the middle. That the responsibility isn't just the school, or just the parent, that there is a responsibility, and the kid is expected to do a certain amount of work. He's not just expected to breathe, and somebody else will hold him. That's it on that one.

Children's culturally rooted attitudes, then, may mesh with or fly against scholastic expectations. If the latter, the child is subject to resocialization at an early age in school.

In the achievement-oriented setting of this classroom all children were expected to entertain high academic goals, realistic or not. The matter of

college was mentioned on several occasions, and the children viewed it as an admirable destination.

"How many of you would like to go to college?" All the children raised their hands except Robin. The teacher looked around the classroom and said: "Okay, I really think you are going in the right direction, it helps you to put your head on straight and know that you have long-range goals."

Again:

The teacher then went back to her discussion about grades to the children and emphasized that they want to make the grade so that they can go to college. She said, "That child of mine, when he was in the sixth grade, he wasn't an awful lot different than now. His teacher called A's able, B's bakers, C's Charlies and D's dogs, and F's were fishes. Okay, when you hit the ninth grade, you do not ever, ever want any dogs. That's what I used to tell him and so I want you to remember that all of your days." She looked around the classroom and the children were laughing. She wrote on the chalkboard, and she said, "When you do apply to college, you always want to have the best grade point average that you can have." And certain grades are too low to get into college, but you have to work, and you have to work very hard."

Although the atmosphere in this classroom was heavily weighted toward individual achievement, competition to achieve high grades was lacking. Rather, cooperation and collaboration were evident.

For one thing, children were encouraged to work together even on so individual a pursuit as reading. The arrangement of tables and chairs in the room encouraged joint effort.

Gotten alone, these two boys really want to learn to read. But when they are with their peer groups they are not too interested in reading.

I am familiar with most of their idiosyncrasies and they are like every other class I've met. They work best when they are working with someone that they are sitting next to that they're comfortable with. I try to honor the place where they will be able to do their best work--who they will be able to work with best and in the area that they will be able to work best. I do have some isolates, and I do have some that I encourage to sit by themselves, because of discipline problems. They do not seem to work well with other boys and girls.

That group has evolved from one solitary child to three that will work very well together, and they will gain reinforcement

from each other, and I really expect good learning to take place, and David maybe will not be quite so rigid in what he considers good behavior.

For another thing, cheating was institutionalized in the classroom. In fact, it was the observer who labeled the events "cheating." The teacher apparently defined them as "joint efforts."

The observer noted:

Children were allowed to copy not only from one another, but out of books when they were doing their journals, for example. Cheating just got to be ridiculous sometimes in the classroom, particularly in the individualized learning tasks. Some students would just simply take another student's paper and write out the answer on it. The teacher took the responsibility of reminding the students over and over again what things were due.

And again:

I can see from where I am sitting that the majority of the kids are cheating on the test. What I see are children who have papers next to them or very near them with words on them. Adele has the paper that she has just written all the words on lying right next to her on a table that is adjacent to her seat. Lynn has another student writing on her paper, and she has stopped writing altogether.

On another day the observer recorded that:

During at least one testing situation cheating was rampant. The teacher obviously recognized the problem because she and the aide watched closely as she administered oral tests from that point on. The teacher didn't give assistance to students who were taking pre and post-tests. She did not seem to concern herself with the kids helping one another, though.

The norm in Ms. Baker's classroom was the striving for high academic achievement. And the children aided each other in the ascent. The attainment of the goal of high achievement was not defined as rare (though rare it undoubtedly was). In the apparent shared belief that anyone could attain that grade if he tried, competition for it was lacking.

In Mr. Williams' classroom, with an emphasis on group achievement, there was also no evident competition among the students for high academic achievement.

Nor was this evident in Ms. Baker's classroom, with its ideology of individual accomplishment and its practice of collaboration. The minority children in these two rooms were not set against each other in order to win any prize. Does harmony exact a price?

C. CASE STUDY OF MR. LEWIS' CLASSROOM

In contrast to the ghetto schools already discussed, Hooper Elementary is situated in a middle-class white neighborhood. In fall 1978, eighty percent of its 280 students were white. Most of the minority children were bused, in accordance with a court order.

Mr. Lewis, a 46-year-old white man, had 20 years of teaching experience--14 of them in Valley City schools, three of them at now-desegregated Hooper. He instructed 34 children last year: 11 of them were black or Mexican-American. According to one parent interviewed by the observer, Mr. Lewis upon his own request was usually given the "worst" children in the school--the hyperactive and the incorrigible. His program took into account the psychological and sociological diversity of his students.

During the field period Mr. Lewis (an academically strong personality) was locked in conflict with the principal (an older white woman), partly over components of his curriculum. The conflict escalated, and district officials resolved it largely in the teacher's favor. He stated:

I have fought for the right to run my own program and to make my own mistakes. A lot of other teachers are afraid of running their own programs because they don't want to be responsible for their own mistakes and therefore they don't grow. I can grow as fast as my mind and my sensitivity will allow me because I have the autonomy, and that was one of the problems this year when they came down and started to control me, that I became kind of unglued for about at least a week there because I know how important an operation this is.

Mr. Lewis' special program went beyond the acquisition of basic skills, although these were not neglected. He instigated a cooperative order in the schoolroom, one geared toward the intensification of solidarity and collective accomplishment, and the reduction of conflict and competitiveness.

There follow some features of Mr. Lewis' curriculum as described by the observer.

(1) Some activities were designed to increase pupil empathy. Among these were "pair blending" and "group blending." The former was

an exercise in which the students face each other with their eyes closed. They do this with their favorite partner. They sit in chairs holding each other's hands until, as they concentrate, they feel that their partner's hands are their hands.

The teacher introduced pair blending in order to

break down the barriers the children have about touching one another. In "pair blending" they face each other, knee to knee, and have their hands in each other's palms, eyes closed, and try to visualize themselves melting their hands together until there is no particular self consciousness about the difference between two people. This is a very powerful experience, especially between children of different races or of the opposite sex, to make them more comfortable with people who appear as different or "others."

Group blending attempted to widen the empathic current:

Mr. Lewis tells the class: "Feel the sense of flow. Share it with each other. Share your friendship. Share the warmth." Mr. Lewis pauses and watches the students. The students have their eyes closed. The students are holding hands in a circle, each circle by the table. "Listen to the beat of your heart. The heartbeat, your heartbeat, is in rhythm with the flow."

The teacher later instructed: "I want you to try to lose the sense of yourself until you become one with your group . . . you're one within the group." Massage was another activity designed to strengthen bonds.

(2) With the analysis of dreams and fantasies, pupils' deeper thoughts and anxieties could be aired. In a telling fantasy fabricated by the teacher the students were to imagine that they had bright pink skin, and to speculate upon attendant social and psychological problems.

(3) The practice of meditation could lead to greater self control and the prevention of unwanted behavior. As the teacher remarked to a parent

(in the observer's paraphrase):

The teacher replies to the effect that the children that he has in the classes often have problems with asthma, hay fever, hyperactivity or are anti-social; and he feels that the meditation forces the child to relax; and meditation has been shown to slow down the heartbeat by the fact that one is relaxing. Thus, the child can calm himself and prevent an asthma attack; or, if he is hyperactive, it prevents anti-social behavior in the classroom.

(4) Even a potentially competitive event like "flying" into the outstretched hands of one's mates became transformed into an enterprise that would heighten solidarity. As the observer noted:

During the "flying exercise" the teacher directed the students with his hands, touching a lot of the students on the mat and touching the flyer, helping the flyer off of the students. The students really seemed to enjoy the exercise. They had a chance to cooperate and seemed to work well together--sitting next to each other and catching the flyer they would be excited over the success of the flyer leap. Momentarily there seemed to be a closeness between the flyer and the class. Antagonisms between individual students did not appear in the exercise because even students that disliked each other would catch the flying students. They would not fail to put up their hands to catch the student.

Other features of Mr. Lewis' program sought to channel aggression along acceptable paths. For example, students could do battle with foam encounter bats, rolled newspapers, or boxing gloves. Such combat took place privately. Consider the disputants Tilly and Chuck:

Concerning the refereed paper fight during lunch between Tilly and Chuck, the teacher repeatedly asked Tilly and somewhat regularly asked Chuck if they were all right. The fight consisted only of hitting the other student with the paper, and although the teacher indicated that face blows with the paper were okay, none was ever directed in that manner. The blows usually hit the shoulders and chest and arms of the students. And there was a feeling of tension between the two students that seemed somewhat lessened after the fight. The teacher seemed to get across to the students that if they want to fight it was permissible in a context where they could be refereed, and it was not a show for any other students to watch. No students were present other than the two fighters.

The entire class presumably benefited from the lessening of tension that resulted from the two-way fray.

The teacher displaced competition as an acceptable mode of behavior in the classroom. As he declared in one of his reports:

The idea that children learn to be good sports is completely a bunch of bullshit. They don't learn anything but to be nasty, hostile, and to gloat when they win, and to be angry and upset when they lose. And frankly, I think that's reality. They are functioning at the same level of everyone else in our culture. Everyone else in our culture functions at any moment in any kind of game. I thoroughly believe that the function of games is that. To put the other person down, to show your superiority, to escape [by doing] all the negative things that the human potential movement is trying to fight against.

Believing that the boys and girls were predisposed to be competitive, he told them so in very emphatic terms (as the observer noted):

The teacher tells the class that, in his opinion, they would do anything to compete, to the extent of killing each other, that they were so aggressive and uncooperative that, had he given them guns, they'd kill each other.

In so saying, the teacher led them to expect that he would disapprove of competitive behavior. The students were taught the lesson well. The following is drawn from the observer's daily notes:

The purpose was to show the differences when you cooperate with each other, if you learn to share, and competition brings out the worst in you. The teacher then questions the students, asking them to repeat what he's just said, and the purpose of what they've just done, and he nods at Julia, who's raised her hand, and she says firmly, "We were supposed to learn to share." Ben raises his hand, and the teacher nods, and calls his name, and Ben says softly, "That we shouldn't compete and fight." The teacher nods at Kent, who says, "We're not supposed to fight and act like big business."

Direct competition between students was displaced in Mr. Lewis' classroom by commercial enterprise. There was an auction, a classroom business, and a sale in the

community of initialed pens. As to the auction:

"We are going to have an auction tomorrow." He explains to the students what will be auctioned off, and he holds up a record player, a drum, music holder, an old record, a wine holder, an attache case which is torn, a green sweater vest, jewelry, a lot more records (about 15). The students watch the teacher intently. Lilly and Lane are sitting on their desks. Yve and Wilson are standing or kneeling on their desks. Warren is standing in the south door. The teacher explains to the students that the person who bids the highest will win or earn the item that they will have to buy.

The teacher explained the classroom business this way:

One of the things I had decided to do was to reinstate, or to begin again, something I had cut out last year, which was the classroom business. So I went to (the store) this morning, and picked up a couple of boxes of Carefree gum, a box of shelled sunflower seeds, a box of raisins and a box of cinnamon granola bars. When the children came in I collected some of their money and we went through the flag salute, and then I brought out the goodies. Some of the children had already known about having a business in the classroom from previous years and they were very excited about it. I explained to them that what I wanted to do was have them sell these various things, most of them not containing sugar. However, I said there are some bars, like granola, that do contain sugar and really raisins contain sugar, and I would just sell these things to those children who were not acting in a hyperactive sort of way.

My hope, which I expressed to them, was that they would learn out of cooperation in their groups, they would learn how to talk quietly to one another without screaming, and they would get their work done.

Further, he announced:

We are going to start the E-1 Corporation. We are going to sell these foods in the classroom. Each group will sell in the room for one week. After the fifth week the most successful group will then sell to the other classes. The profits from the first weeks will go to the E-1 Corporation for the Magic Mountain trip.

Although there were no competitors, there were gains to be made.

Mr. Lewis sought to promote cooperation among his pupils and to inhibit competitiveness and aggression. But he faced the problem of his pupils being socially diverse. He stated that "We have a lot of kids in this particular

room who are very strongly racist, and you can feel it." Again:

This is not to say that the children that I have who are white are not prejudiced. Quite the contrary. Several of the children in this class are extremely bigoted, extremely prejudiced. I have spoken to some of the parents and it's easy to see where the children have gotten their strong racial antagonisms. The parents are exactly the same way. Or, the children are like the parents would be more appropriate. So, I don't want anyone to think that I believe that it's a one-sided thing at all. I know that the black children are often responding to the covert prejudice of the white children. The black child himself or herself is acting aggressively against something that is real, but it's not very tangible.

But in Mr. Lewis' judgment attitudes do improve through contact:

I know some of the children hate each other. You can see that some of the conflicts are strictly racial. But the children aren't aware of it. But they respond to petty things, even more inappropriately than normal. I mean kids get petty just like their parents. But the combinations are pretty obvious and the reasons of it are pretty obvious--to me. Whereas last year we only had three or four black kids, and they were "good black kids," like the white Jew. They fit in perfectly. So everybody kind of accepted them. Now there're too many black kids and they can't be invisible. There're definitely black kids there. But before, you know, Regina was just Regina. Her best friend was white and they got along fine. And it really wasn't that much of a thing. You can feel it.

Ms. Baker attempted to ignore racial and ethnic differences among her pupils. Her approach was universalistic--color blind. Mr. Lewis met these differences in a forward assault on prejudice. For example, he read and discussed stories about famous minority persons like Roy Campanella. He contrived episodes (like the Pink People) that would exemplify the irrationality of racism. He discussed school desegregation itself and its rationale. For example, take this excerpt from the daily notes:

Teacher continues asking firmly, "Why do we need a court order? Why don't blacks, whites and Mexicans mix together?" The students raise their hands. The Teacher nods at Schroeder, and Schroeder answers, "Because they are different

cultures." The Teacher nods, points to Jake, who replies questioningly, "Because they are different races?" The Teacher stands by Chalkboard A at the front of the class and replies calmly, "Mixing different races and beliefs is important, because people don't always see things the same."

The teacher created pupil groupings to engender interracial harmony. Thus, one day he explained to the class that:

[He] wants each student to pick his best friend, and that person can be of the same racial background. A black student can pick his best friend and that student can be white. Then the students are supposed to pick two other students of a racial background other than their own, so that two black students have to pick two white students. The Teacher tells the students that the second pair which they pick should be the pair that they get along with the best, then the foursome has to pick two more students, and the racial identity does not matter, but they must pick two students that they can get along with, totaling a group of six. The students in the class listen intently as the Teacher explains this. The Teacher continues firmly as the students are listening, "Here's why I am doing this. Things that we do together will force the six of you together and you'll act like a team. You don't have to like all the people, but you just have to be able to get along with them and treat each other with courtesy and respect. I demand this of you, that you treat each other with courtesy and respect. You must first try to solve your own problems before you can come to the Aide or to me. This week I'll try to work and teach you different methods for you to solve your problems for yourselves." The Teacher tells the students that in these groups they are to try to work together, solve their problems as a group first before coming to him and that he will teach them socially acceptable ways of dealing with stress and aggression."

Finally, Mr. Lewis lectured the class on the dangers of racial prejudice. He chose, for example, to instruct them on one notorious self-fulfilling prophecy:

"People are always treating you as if they believe you are inferior, you act inferior." The Teacher rephrases and answers back firmly to the class. He stands with his hands on his hips as he says, "The laws treated the Negroes in an inferior manner. There is no difference between blacks or whites in how and what they feel. When they are treated in an inferior manner, people begin to feel inferior."

It is not known whether or not Mr. Lewis' efforts to reduce racial prejudice and to promote integration succeeded, or which elements of the whole

were more and which less important for the undertaking. Further, it is not known whether teachers can effect integration better by making much or little or nothing at all of social differences among their students. It is not now possible to say who had the better idea, Ms. Baker or Mr. Lewis. Besides, the pupils would go on to another scholastic setting at year's end. Presuming any attitudinal and behavioral improvement within the desegregated classroom, what then of its durability?

D. CASE STUDY OF MS. GARCIA'S CLASSROOM

Valley City has a sizable Mexican-American minority. Van De Camp School (relatively small with about 200 pupils in fall 1978) is situated in the barrio. About eight students out of ten were Mexican-American at the time of the field work. Some 13 percent were black or members of another minority, and eight percent were white.

Ms. Garcia, a 41-year-old Mexican American, had eighteen years experience of teaching, all in Valley City. It was her fourth year at Van De Camp. She had always taught in minority schools, and had had mostly Mexican-American students.

Of the 28 pupils in Ms. Garcia's classroom, 21 were Mexican American. (One girl was, more exactly, Mexican, having lately immigrated.) Sixteen of the Hispanic children spoke at least some Spanish. There were five black students and two whites. The boys and girls did not appear to divide themselves along racial or ethnic lines. The observer remarked:

I do not see the black students, for instance, clumping together and I do not see the white kids clumping together a great deal. I think that the associations seem to be more on personal likes and dislikes and perhaps on how long students have been friends.

Spanish was informally used in the classroom during the observation period, but the dominant classroom language was English. The pupils believed that one should speak English at school, whatever the dominant tongue at home. Yet, Spanish had some legitimacy. The observer noted:

In this class Spanish is used a great deal. Some of it is a mixture of Spanish and English, where one or two Spanish words will be substituted such as, instead of I want to see hands when you answer, she says I want to see los manos. There is an interesting pattern, however, that when the instructions are given in Spanish that they are almost always answered in English by the students. The one exception is Davey, and he will occasionally reply in Spanish. Although he comes from a

Mexican family, I do not get the impression that he is a Spanish speaker. Others, like Lisa, who is quite obviously a Spanish speaker and who is more fluent in Spanish by far than in English, still answer questions in English.

Ms. Garcia (like Ms. Baker) did not make an issue of cultural differences among the students, or in the larger society for that matter. Boys and girls were treated universally--that is, as if they were alike in cultural background.

The goal of individual accomplishment was stressed in Ms. Garcia's classroom. For virtually every pursuit, both academic and not, there was a goal to be met. Rewards were given differentially according to performance. The essential logic was meritocratic, but standards were low enough so that only the willful might lose.

Ms. Garcia believed that her principal goal was to increase productivity.

She said:

Their behavior hasn't been a problem factor, their attitude hasn't been a problem. These are the children--I had two-thirds of them with me when they were third graders, and they were in a situation in fourth grade where they had a teacher who maintained a very good discipline but not necessarily a lot of warmth with the students the way I do. And I knew even before I received them as fifth graders that a lot of related tasks had already been taken care of back in the third grade, so I knew that I was getting an exceptionally good class. My biggest problem with them has been getting them to work. They work very well under teacher directives and they get along very well with each other, but as far as individually working, this is the big problem that I could see in dealing with them.

She described her system of exacting normative compliance:

Behavior modification is a system that we use. The rewarding of points. What I do is I pay them. I figure that if I get paid for what I do then youngsters should get paid. And then once they get paid they should be able to do something with it. I used to see other classrooms doing the auction type things. Or going to the little store and buying things and I could never really see myself doing that. It is successful

in other classrooms but that is not for me. For a long time I searched and searched and searched and I finally came upon my way for doing it, and I used little round stickers. And on these little round stickers we paid points. And so for attendance, for example, five points for every day that you are here. If you are never tardy this week, you pick up a bonus five points. If the whole class has perfect attendance, then everybody picks up a bonus of five points. So then the youngster can earn anything depending on his attendance. That can be 55 points or 20 points. . . . Don't come tardy or you will blow your points. Or if you are not here you are not earning points. Be sure that you come. By the point system we then--with our small group instructions--we then award five points for every period. And so, "Johnny did you earn your five points for math today?" "Yes, I was working my pages." O.K. five points. "How about you Chris." "Well I was messing around with Joe." O.K. you don't get your five points. That is the way of discipline. They earn their points by their behavior. If they go to an assembly they get paid bigger points. Either a twenty point assembly or a fifteen point assembly. It depends on how much they participate. So this is a way I am able to have control and discipline.

Ms. Garcia's point system for the allocation of rewards had been in operation since third grade. It was developed by the teacher and her aide, a 31-year-old white woman. The latter told the observer that:

More things have been added to the point system over time, such as homework, spelling, etc., and that is one reason why the magic number has been raised from 50 points to 500 points. She says that because they've had them in the third grade and they are experienced with the point system now, that the class is running more smoothly than before. The problem students, and she gives the example of Abbott and Carl, are because they have not been exposed before. She said that it took the entire third grade to get those students feeling good about themselves and taking responsibility, and she is somewhat resigned to the fact that the rest, though, do not reflect what they have accomplished in that class. The real improvement in the students, then, comes the grade after, in the fourth grade. For instance, she was very amazed by the students that they did so well on the PTA drive, because they had never even come close to winning before, that it was always the fourth graders who won, that is, a year after the teacher had had them.

Under Ms. Garcia's direction, the point system had become an articulated and objective device for inducing correct behavior among the students and for

increasing academic productivity. Mr. Lewis, in sharp contrast, relied mostly upon subjective inducements such as praise (not absent in Ms. Garcia's classroom either). It is unknown whether objective or subjective inducements have the greater effect. Whichever, the underlying hypothesis is the same: the expectation of rewards and the threat of punishment move children to learn and to behave in school in other expected ways.

Without tangible rewards to egg them on, the pupils in Ms. Garcia's classroom would have been on an empty pursuit of points. There were prizes indeed. For example, one day the many took a luncheon excursion.

We will walk a half mile to "Carl's Jr." [restaurant]; half mile to return. So that will give us a good basis to analyze a mile. The children will receive a hamburger and drink treat, and as we always say to the children, these are the sort of activities that are in store for you if you are responsible--you follow through on your homework, you complete your lessons and earn your points for having completed lessons, and citizenship is good, and if we can have good faith and confidence in your behavior at school, then certainly we can have good faith and confidence in your behavior away from school.

The trip was a success, and seemed to reinforce the idea that good behavior brought rewards.

The highpoint for the students during the observation period was a trip to Los Angeles to see a film.

Tuesday was the day that we went to "The Wiz." We had selected "The Wiz," the theatre presentation in Hollywood, as a farewell activity to the leaving of our student teacher and our observer, and as a November trip that the children needed to earn points for and be responsible about homework, as well as show group citizenship behavior at school, and also as a way of saying to the children, "Here is the big trip. Take advantage of it. Earn your right to be in this trip. Know that you can be fully qualified for this trip and if you don't make it, pay the consequences and stay at school. It's the thing that we've been pushing for and pushing for, and when I say "we," I mean our language tutor, our student teacher,

our aide, the adults involved. Even though I've had trips with children, and I've had them earning points, I've had them receiving the reward of the trip for behavior modification.

The few, lacking sufficient points, were left behind.

Ms. Garcia had devised a system to reward the many for minimal achievement. Everyone could win, and most did. There was no prize for exceptional achievement, only a penalty for willful nonconformity. Before the Los Angeles excursion Ms. Garcia had taken issue with the children over their inadequacies.

I started scolding the children. I started scolding them and telling them that they needed to get started, that they were so behind in their reading, and so behind in their math, that we were beginning to look bad because we hadn't passed any test, and Mary, Bev, Rosie joined our discussion and they all--we all felt the seriousness of this thing; the children were saying to us that no they hadn't done their homework, and yet we were struggling to get them to go to Hollywood to see "The Wiz." And Mary's message came across as being, "Look, I'm a good example. When I was in school I never had anybody to really help me, and I just didn't care, and now I find myself very embarrassed because I don't know how to spell words, and lots of times I don't know what words mean." And then Bev came across with the example of, "Talk about spelling. I have a brother who's never learned how to spell, but he always carries his dictionary with him, and he is very successful in his job." And Rosie's message was, "Well, why are we working so hard to have treats for you children and trips if you're so lazy and you won't work?" And we talked about college students with the same lazy habits as my fifth graders were showing, and the fact that they just didn't make it in school.

The point system gave a common prize to the many, not a rare prize to the few. By Thanksgiving 1978 most pupils had gained merit. Ms. Garcia had not set the standards that high, nor had she made the rewards that scarce.

PART III: COMPARATIVE CONCLUSIONS

The teachers under study had striven to treat all students equally in every significant respect. The four milieux, therefore, shared a feature that shaped events over the field period.

Children across the classes were in identical grades (fifth or sixth) and of the same age. Whatever the spread within any of the four rooms, their mental capacities tended to be similar.¹² Although well aware of variation, the teachers did not single out the more intelligent, nor did they celebrate their accomplishments.¹³ True, some children were reading more advanced materials than others, but the slower did not defer to the quicker. Neither teacher nor fellow pupils stigmatized any child for stupidity. For laziness they often did. It was assumed throughout that everyone could do the work if he or she would try. Thus, intellectual differences were leveled so far as everyday work went. Each student was to believe that he could carry out assignments as well as any other.

The teachers also had to cope with racial and ethnic differences among the children. Mr. Williams had an all-black class, and he himself was black. Even so, the larger, white world pressed outside, and the boys and girls were at times reminded of future difficulties in finding a place in society. Ms. Baker and Ms. Garcia had *mélanges*, but chose to overlook the variation. They left it to natural workings to improve the children's attitudes in this regard. Mr. Lewis confronted cultural differences directly. It is not known which tactic is better in reducing racial and ethnic prejudice among schoolchildren--intervention or noninterference. Whatever their differences in approach, however, none of the teachers ever hinted that racial and ethnic differences were of any relevance or importance in the work of the classrooms. They ruled societies that were presumably egalitarian.

In each of the four classes the teacher stressed individual achievement and carried out individual teaching. But in each case the children were more or less encouraged to collaborate on the work. This collectivity took the form of a group whose members shared the belief that they should help each other to achieve common ends.¹⁴ As Mr. Lewis remarked, "You are responsible for each other."

Each teacher set up a society in which virtually everyone could win the race. None were elect. Theoretically, if the rules were followed, none would be rejects or outcasts.

In the egalitarian societies under study cooperation was the mechanism the teachers used to ensure that almost all would be promoted together at the school year's end. The "responsible" student completed his own work, and completed it on time. And he worked with his fellows.

The four teachers did not set out to identify and to reward, at least publicly, the few favored by ability and/or persistence. They sought to induce the many to meet a minimum standard. There need not be failures, given the will. They utilized any variety of intra and extramural sanctions or threats to exact compliance to the classroom order. For example, a parent could be enlisted to carry out a punishment or to reinforce it. Parents, insofar as can be known, appeared to have accepted the classroom order as legitimate.¹⁵

Homework was irregularly assigned by the teachers. Mr. Lewis opposed it. He believed that parents should not be called upon to play teacher--and perhaps not know the answers. Others found that homework might draw parents deeper into the educational process. In Ms. Garcia's point system, homework played a significant part. It is not possible to assess the functions of homework for teacher, child, and family, or its effects upon school work from the data

available. Parents' opinions and attitudes were not collected in the MESE Project study.

The teachers did not employ competition among the children as an alternative to cooperation to stimulate productivity. Failures as a result of competition would have accentuated differences in intellectual, physical, or emotional capacity. Competition might have brought gains in individual efforts, but it would have had a negative effect on group achievement. Subgroup competition would favor group and disfavor individual achievement. Competition is a meritocratic mode. There was no stimulus to reach excellence in the classrooms under study. The most important concern was for the many to be prepared to move a rung higher. They were induced to meet a minimum standard.¹⁶

PART IV: IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER TRAINING

Overall, the teachers studied tended to be untrained in and unfamiliar with (and hostile toward) the use of scientific methods to assess their classroom activities. There is no evidence in the materials that they had tested new methods or techniques, or had seriously weighed short or long-term effects of their teaching principles and practices. Oblivious to any requirements for systematic measurement to more adequately apprehend what they do, they proceeded on assumptions largely untested through systematic inquiry, and on value judgments that could just as easily have been very wrong as very right. One central focus of the MESE Project has been to illuminate the process of integration in desegregated classrooms--How does it come about or fail to come about in one particular classroom, or later as a result of events in that classroom? One might applaud the efforts of Mr. Lewis, who strove by multiple means to promote integration among pupils, and fault Ms. Baker, who consciously ignored differences among her students, made no efforts to enlighten them on subcultural differences, and instigated no special patterns that might change pupils' behavior and their views of each other. Praise of the former teacher over the latter may be unfounded.

Clearly, to foster integration, it is not known whether a teacher should make much, little, or even nothing of racial, ethnic, and class differences. Conscious attempts might well backfire, at least among some boys and girls. Once children of different stripe are assembled together, might "natural" processes be better than any pedagogical meddling? But if some teacher intervention among pupils has the desired integrative effect, how much is good and what specific techniques can bring about results in which direction?

In any qualitative ethnographic endeavor that attempts to assess teacher effectiveness, researchers must systematically probe attitudinal and behavioral changes among students while in the classroom and at later dates. The qualitative data already collected in this study can help to formulate a study design and instruments for measurement. Children's intergroup attitudes can be tapped in selected classrooms at the beginning of a school year, in the middle of the year, at year's end, and most importantly, at one or more later junctures. Data are needed on short-term effects. Do attitudes remain improved one or two years later in junior high school? And data are needed on long-term effects, after the children under test have either dropped out of or graduated from high school. It can be hypothesized that some effects, positive or negative, of integration efforts are delayed and only become evident some years later.

What factors do and do not hasten, promote, or impede the process of integration in the desegregated setting? Attitudes cannot be inferred just from observations of behavior.

The MESE Project materials reveal the teachers' general emphasis on cooperative enterprise in the classroom with an attendant purposive veiling of differences in ability among the pupils. Correspondingly, competition among the boys and girls was not encouraged. Rarely did a teacher formalize competitive pursuits, and never academic matters (as opposed, for example, to selling ball point pens in the community). Thus, there was a deinstitutionalization of competition, especially for grades. Which mode is better? Have the relative merits of the one or of the other been tested? If in the interests of integration minority children learn mainly to collaborate with the majority, can they later successfully compete with them for jobs? The relation between schoolroom modes for the production of work and integration begs for thorough test.

Ideally, the occupational structure of American society is based upon achievement. Like-qualified contenders battle for the same job. And the higher the position, the fiercer the meet. Ascriptive elements continue to operate, minority status among them. Affirmative action programs may provide some boost, but the job-seeker of underprivileged origin is still likely to be faced with a field of competitors, some of the same ilk. Obviously, one must learn to compete with others for scarce rewards. Classically, the nation's schools have tried to teach the lesson. Home was the haven, school the battlefield.

The data from Valley City suggest that grade-school children can fail to fully internalize our society's chief hierarchical axis--a differentiation among men and women by intelligence and ability. From the society's viewpoint, it is the function of the school system to bring about that internalization. The children under study may know that some people are smarter than others, but they may not know how it matters. If they assume that society, like their classrooms, operates on egalitarian principles, then they may be disappointed when the world of work opens to them.

The teachers did not mention that the brighter have the better chance to assume positions of authority, prestige, income, and power.¹⁷ Interviews with children were not taken in this leg of the MESE Project. From the observations, however, (including one sociometric test in Ms. Garcia's classroom) it seems that the children did not classify each other by ability. Nothing would have encouraged it. And classroom ideologies dictated otherwise. But if the clever were not singled out, neither were the clumsy. Mediocrity was a virtue, not a vice.

Except for white children of white-collar family (mostly in Mr. Lewis' classroom), almost all students stemmed from humbler roots. Teachers can have

pre- or misconceptions about children's occupational destinies or aspirations. Their judgments may be helpful or harmful. Mr. Williams, for example, told a child that he would hold a job doing manual labor. Was it a valid prediction? However great the probability, did he take sufficient variables into account? And anyway, was the child listening?

The mode of group achievement evidently facilitates learning. Does it hamper the development of children's abilities to take the heat of competitive pressure? Lacking any data, the costs and benefits of alternative educational modes cannot be calculated.

Overall, the data under review show that last fall, schooling in the primary grades in Valley City was easy to swallow. The boys and girls liked school. Their teachers were caring and diligent. Would children learn more in an ambience that is less agreeable?

NOTES

1. For an account of and rationale for the Project's aims and methods, see Volume I of the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project Final Report, Overview and Research Design (Report MESE 791A, San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1979b).

2. The white community is Protestant. According to the American Jewish Year Book, there were estimated to be only 1,900 Jews in Valley City in 1978. Although blacks and Mexican Americans have not yet been apperceived in the city by writers, whites have. See Joan Didion, Slouching Toward Bethlehem (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), pages 3-28.

3. See Volume II of the Multi-Ethnic School Environments Project Final Report for a discussion of the selection, characteristics, training, and supervision of the field workers (Classroom Case Studies, Report MESE 791B, San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1979c).

4. Ancillary data include: material on school administrators, children's scores on standardized tests, friendship choices, descriptions of the locale, and data on school characteristics (e.g., ethnic and racial makeup).

5. Details of the court-ordered desegregation plan can be found in Volume I of the MESE Final Report.

6. Classification by race or ethnicity can be difficult. Is a pupil recently arrived from Mexico a "Mexican American?" What is the race of an offspring of a white mother and a black father? How to place a child, one of whose parents is Asian, the other Hispanic? Further, a child may be biologically one race, culturally another.

7. Whatever the virtues of enumeration, it should be stressed that these four schoolrooms in no way represent all (even all like-level) schoolrooms in Valley City, let alone those elsewhere. And even had they been so

drawn that generalizations could be made, the 25-day field period may be uncharacteristic of the rest of the school year. Since the MESE Project had no pretense of establishing a systematic framework for sampling its units, it would then be misleading to derive numbers from the field notes that are not statistics. It would still be possible to enumerate certain phenomena so as to draw comparisons among the four classrooms. Given the variety of the units, however, these might also be misleading.

8. The field notes do not contain information about the pupils' occupational aspirations. On November 15th, the students did, however, complete a Career Survey that would identify them. If known, schoolchildren's occupational plans, hopes, and fantasies could affect individual instruction. The stratum of the desired distinction is as important as the specific job.

9. Homework was also assigned. It, too, was expected to be turned in on schedule.

10. Some pertinent social-science literature was to be introduced at the end of the field period.

11. It is seen later in this section that Ms. Baker places the most emphasis on the modification of behavior as the key to improving academic performance and classroom manners.

12. On objective tests of reading and mathematics, the majority group children in Ms. Garcia's class tended to score higher than others. Factors other than innate ability may account for the poorer performance of minority children on such tests.

13. The field period ended before Thanksgiving 1978. Ms. Baker planned to give awards for achievement in her room, but not until some months later. There is no evidence over the five fall weeks of observation that children were jockeying for position in any race.

14. Some children had previously attended school with one another and had Ms. Garcia as a teacher. Newcomers were absorbed with some ease, but a few could or would not learn the rules.

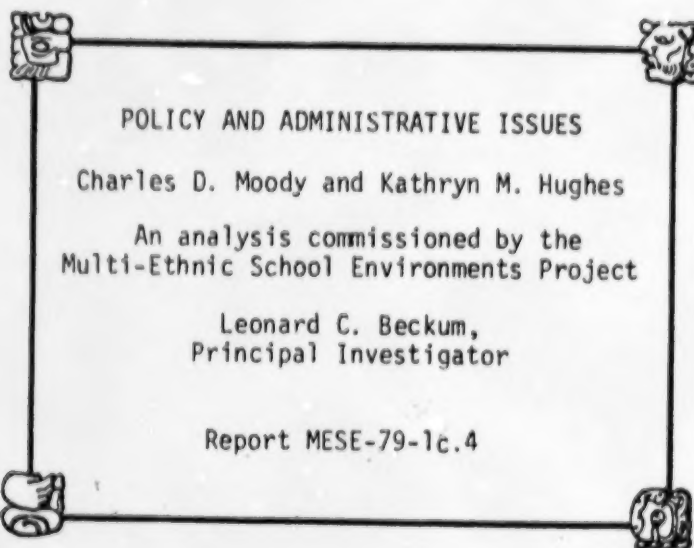
15. There was one instance of a hostile confrontation between Ms. Garcia and a mother. The dispute, which got resolved, was based upon the child's misstatement of fact.

16. It is not known whether the goal of minimal achievement came only from the teachers' conceptions of their jobs. Suppose a school system existed in which, for reasons of policy, pupils could fail but still be promoted. In that system teachers' standards could still be lowered, to a point.

17. The school district conducted a Career Survey in the sixth-grade rooms last fall. The results are unknown. The issue of job aspirations was not taken up by any of the teachers during the field period.



Multi- Ethnic School Environments



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PART I: ANALYSIS DESIGN

The overall purpose of the MESE Project is to assess the multiethnic climate of four recently desegregated classrooms and to determine the implications of the findings for preservice and inservice training of teachers. Since classrooms do not exist in a social vacuum, it is imperative that we assess a number of critical variables outside as well as within the classroom. The following report analyzes the policies of the Valley City School District, the district of the four classrooms under study. These policies are critiqued, both in terms of how they are manifested in classroom activities and by official district statements and actions. Then issues typical to other desegregating school districts are discussed, and recommendations for teacher training and policy revisions are offered.

The present analysis is based on the assumption that all aspects of the operation and management of any organization or institution are grounded in its policies. Too often, school districts attempt to operate a desegregated and equal educational opportunity system utilizing the same policies that were supportive of a segregated and unequal educational opportunity system. Even when policies are changed to reflect the new goals of the district, there is often incongruity between policy and practice.

In order to assess the policies affecting the multiethnic environment of the four classrooms, various kinds of data were studied--interviews, daily observations, and other documents (policy statements and newspaper articles, for example). Unfortunately, the data available were not adequate to allow a full analysis of all the policy issues identified as crucial by this analyst. The school district was reluctant to release the information. Also, early in the study certain needed data had not yet been gathered. Although based on

incomplete data, the following discussion hopefully indicates where many of the desegregation/integration problems lie.

The term "desegregation/integration" perhaps needs some explanation. This process involves more than mere "body mixing," and pupil reassignment and transportation. In order to achieve effective desegregation/integration, other factors must also be considered: 1) staff reassignment; 2) student classification; 3) disciplinary policies and procedures; 4) student participation in curricular and extracurricular activities; 5) community involvement and support; 6) multicultural curriculum; and 7) staff development and inservice training. These factors parallel the major policy classifications to be found in policy manuals in school districts across the nation.

Desegregation/integration is a complex process that cuts across all facets of school and community life. The same complexity that makes this process difficult to carry out makes it difficult to analyze--a wide number of variables, including the expectations of community groups, students, school personnel and district administrators, must be taken into consideration.

Far too often only the minority community and teachers are viewed as being affected by desegregation. Little attention is paid to the fact that the majority community, as well as administrators, counselors and all non-certificated staff, are also affected. Everyone needs to be taken into account when we look at the complexity and interrelatedness of the factors involved in the desegregation/integration process.

Likewise, the framework for analysis should accommodate this complexity. Below I have provided a framework for organizing the data so as to facilitate the examination of post-desegregation problems that inhibit integration. This framework allows for examination of the issues at both the district and building (school) levels. It should also facilitate the comparison of first

and second generation issues across the four classrooms. Each of the policy issues identified as a variable is accompanied by the rationale for including it, as well as questions that may need to be asked. A figure depicting this framework appears on page 216.

1. Commitment of Leadership to Desegregation/Integration

Perhaps the most important ingredient in successful school desegregation is district leadership. Recent studies, as well as my own experience in desegregation activities, indicate that when the leadership is committed to desegregation and integration and makes a public statement of that commitment, the process of moving toward those goals is smoother and more likely to be successful than when that commitment is lacking. Questions that might be asked are: How is that commitment demonstrated? Which leadership qualities might be applicable to other settings?

2. Teacher's Personal Views and Feelings About Desegregation

A teacher's views may influence his or her expectations for students' performance and behavior, as well as the quality and quantity of interactions in the classroom. In other words, the tone and climate of the classroom may be set to a great extent by the teacher's views. A teacher's expressions of feelings in actions and "unrelated" and explicit remarks must be considered as to how they affect the students, because there may be a disjunction between what a teacher says and what he/she actually believes. Questions that might be asked are: How does the teacher go about setting the tone for this classroom? How does he or she create an environment that is conducive to multiethnic goals? Are the stated goals actually at odds with the teacher's own beliefs?

3. Policies

It is worth repeating that too often school districts attempt to

operate a desegregated system with "equal opportunity" by providing the same policies and procedures that were supportive of a segregated and unequal educational opportunity system. Answering the following questions can perhaps pinpoint the incongruity between policy and practice in desegregating districts, as well as determine the areas in which policies may be inadequate--i.e., too few and too scant to deal with the problems.

First, there are several questions relevant to a school district under court mandate to desegregate. Has there been a court order to reassign pupils to other schools? Has there been a court order to reassign staff in order to improve the multiethnic climate of particular schools? Has the district responded adequately to these legal mandates? If not, why? How has the mandate affected the way district members actually feel about desegregation?

Second, there are questions relating to school curricular policy. Does the district require a multicultural curriculum? Or is there no established policy in this area? What constitutes this multicultural program? Is it a comprehensive attempt to teach students about the interactive and highly complex world we inhabit, or is it merely a piecemeal effort--a smattering of details about "life in other cultures"? (For the consequences of monoethnic experience for white children living in a multiethnic world, see Citron (1969). A related issue is the evaluation of bias in textbooks and other materials. Have the materials used in the classroom been evaluated? Is there a district policy for assuring consistent and thorough examination of the textbooks? What are the criteria established for assessing bias?

In addition to answering these questions and making relevant determinations, a desegregating district must study the policies that have been set for preservice and inservice training of teachers. Preservice preparation of professional staff members is rarely ideal in any situation. More often than not, what passes

for professional preparation is merely an introduction, not a full "course." Teachers and other staff may be told what some of the problems are, but they are rarely given the opportunity to develop skills they will need. In schools where volatile (or otherwise difficult) situations might arise from the desegregation process, the teachers must have had adequate preparation in specific skills. Teachers not only need to know how to handle conflict, they need skills appropriate to furthering the goals of integration and multicultural experience. How else can teachers assure that a classroom of ethnically diverse students will become the arena for an enriched educational experience?

Social and educational changes make current professional practices obsolete or relatively ineffective in a short period of time. Methods, techniques, tools, and substantive knowledge can quickly become outmoded (Harris and Bessent; 1974). Does district policy establish any mechanisms for coping with these rapid changes?

4. Student Rights and Responsibilities

One of the most prevalent conflicts in public schools concerns the violation of student rights and responsibilities. The conflict has particularly onerous consequences in desegregated settings, as reflected by the grossly disproportionate rate at which minorities are suspended compared to their white counterparts. The conflict, however, is just as serious in racially homogenous districts where differential effects may be detected along national origin, sex, or socioeconomic lines. Disproportionate minority student displacement through disciplinary action has historically been a method of perpetuating school segregation and discrimination.

What are the district's policies on students' rights? What do the statistics on student referrals and suspensions reveal about actual practice? The district should inspect its policies and practices to answer these questions.

In order to assure the fair administration of student discipline, a non-

disruptive learning environment must be created and maintained by the evenhanded application of a set of prepublished rules that are fair in nature and reasonably related to valid educational objectives. Such administration is characterized by the consistent provision of like sanctions to different individuals on the basis of similar violations under comparable circumstances (Vergon; 1974). Does the district set policies that ensure fair and consistent treatment of all students?

5. Ability Grouping

Ability grouping practices vary from place to place, with varying consequences for the students. The teaching strategies employed with those classified "low" are often void of the stimulation offered to those classified "high." In other ability grouping practices, students placed in different groups are taught as if almost identical in capability. As Findley and Bryan (1970) and other writers have described, there are viable alternatives to ability grouping as a means of furthering school learning.

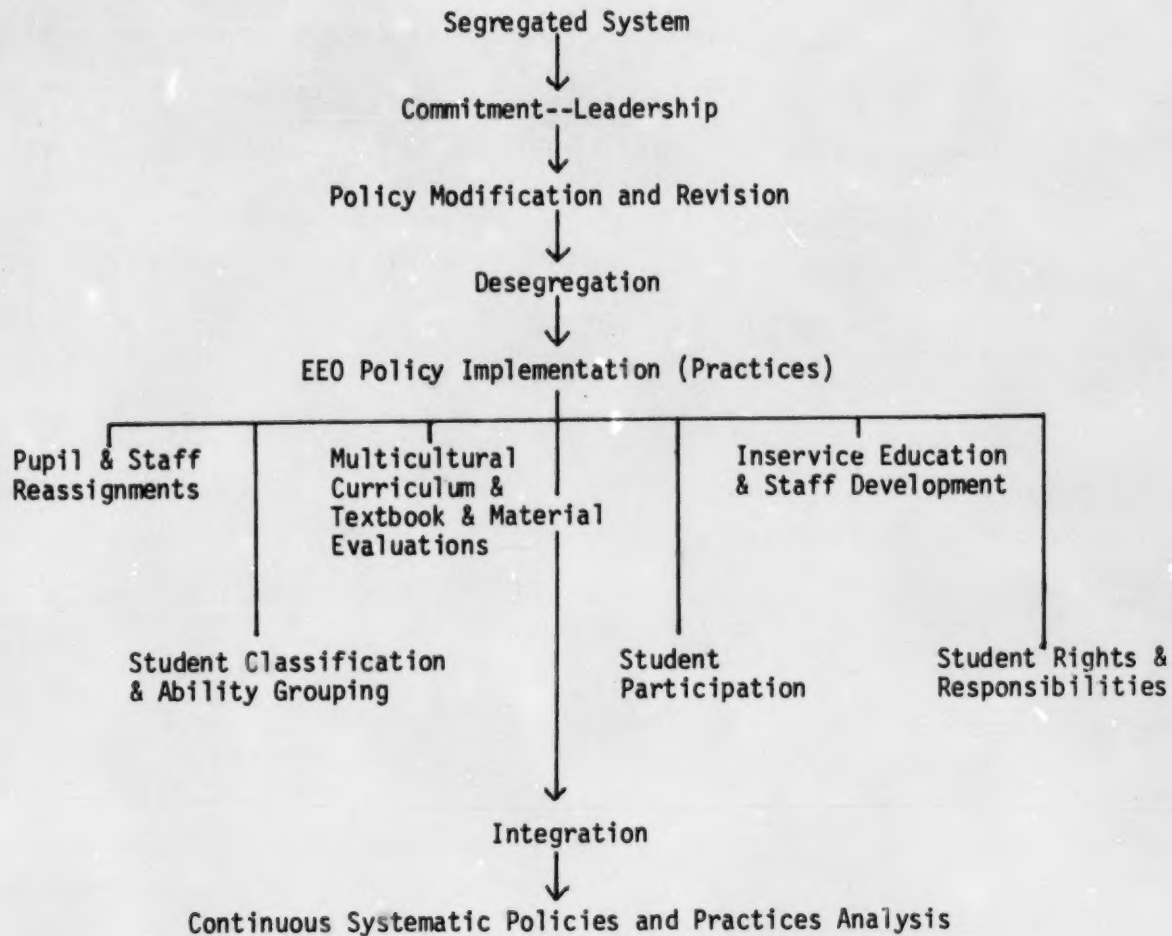
At the present time, however, ability grouping is the most common cause of classroom segregation, according to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1976). Questions that might be asked are: Is ability grouping in line or at odds with the educational policies set by the district? What are the effects of ability grouping on the students in this classroom?

6. Vacancies Open to Minority and Majority Students in the Various Programs

The responsibilities as well as the advantages of desegregation should be shared equally by all segments of the school district. The opportunity to participate in school activities has been shown to make school more meaningful for students and to enhance their learning. This is true of both curricular and extracurricular activities.

In order to move toward a truly integrated educational system, a district must address all of the above issues. Figure 4-1, which appears on the next page, represents the temporal sequence (vertical axis) and multifaceted nature (horizontal axis) of the needed reforms.

FIGURE 4-1
DOMAINS OF DESEGREGATION REFORM



The preceding variables have been analyzed at the district, building, and classroom levels to the extent possible using the available data. Because needed data on administrative issues were not contained in the classroom-centered data collection, the following analyses of the four classrooms and their contents are called "impressions" rather than "case studies."

PART II: IMPRESSIONS OF THE FOUR CLASSROOMS

A. IMPRESSIONS OF MR. WILLIAMS' CLASSROOM

Of the four teachers, Mr. Williams, who is black, was the most verbal in expressing his personal views and feelings about desegregation. He was extremely sensitive to the issues surrounding the desegregation effort in his school, La Cumbre Elementary. He understood the difference between desegregation and integration, as well as the implications of the district's desegregation plan in his school. (See the discussion of district policy, below.) Mr. Williams was highly critical of this policy and felt it to be a ruse by which the district was merely perpetuating the advantages of the already advantaged. He said he would give complete support to a true desegregation effort that would improve educational opportunities and further the goals of integration. Mr. Williams' strengths as a teacher were in his sensitivity to the problems of the community and the home, and to the academic problems of his students.

District policy had desegregated this school according to the "letter" and not the "spirit" of the law. The district set up an academic kindergarten and an extended daycare program to attract white students to the school. Three kindergarten classes were to be formed--each containing 20 majority and five black high-achieving students. By the time the ethnographers had completed their observations, two kindergarten classes--serving a total of 35 students--were in operation. Twenty-nine of these students were white; only six were black. The rest of the student population, however, was predominantly black. There were only eleven whites and two Mexican Americans. By contrast, the teaching staff was predominately white. Mr. Williams was one of two black teachers and one of two male teachers in the school. The principal, administrative assistant, two secretaries, and a health aide were all white. Of the thirteen women working as classroom aides, two were Mexican American, eight were black, and three were white. The three recreation aides, a library aide, two duty

assistants, a cafeteria worker, and two custodians were all black.

To sum up, the school student population was over 90 percent black, and Mr. Williams' classroom was 100 percent black. On the other hand, the academic kindergarten was over 80 percent white, and the faculty and administration were predominantly white, while the classified staff were predominantly minority.

The implication of this de facto segregation for Mr. Williams' classroom is noteworthy. Segregation was intact for this classroom. There was no interaction with any of the mainstream students, teachers, or adults in the school. The class took its own separate recess, lunch, and outings--separate from the rest of the student population, including the white students.

The other important implication of this school desegregation plan is that there was apparently no provision or mechanism for bringing about desegregation of individual classrooms or for hiring more minorities to the school staff. Mr. Williams' classroom and others in the school would remain all black, the administrative staff all white, and the teaching staff mainly white through the school year. And next year?

The activities in Mr. Williams' classroom presented no evidence of a multicultural perspective to the curriculum. According to Mr. Williams, the district had not demonstrated any overt commitment to a multicultural curriculum. No materials were available to make an evaluation of sexual and racial bias in the curricular materials. In any case, this kind of evaluation requires a systematic and detailed study. There did not appear to be a district policy for ensuring that biased materials were not used. According to the available data and Mr. Williams, there was also no systematic or sustained inservice training--at least none that involved this teacher.

There was no evidence of a district policy on student rights' and responsibilities. Nor was there any mention of a school disciplinary policy

or handbook. At the classroom level, on the other hand, the teacher had established rules and procedures, and he appeared to apply them consistently and equitably.

From all indications, ability grouping was practiced throughout La Cumbre School and, in fact, was widespread throughout the district. From the evidence at hand, the district appeared to rely heavily on standardized testing for student classification and placement. The selection of students for the academic kindergarten indicates that this practice began at the kindergarten level. There was no evidence of any lateral or vertical movement between groups in Mr. Williams' classroom during the field observations. Ability grouping was applied to the areas of reading and math in his classroom.

As stated earlier, the academic kindergarten/daycare program was geared to attract majority students so as to achieve the 80/20 percent ratio ordered by the court. This kindergarten, then, was an option offered to whites in order to entice them to this school. At the same time, there were no inschool options available to minority students. Nor was there a mirror magnet white school offering options that would attract blacks. The only option available to black students was voluntary transfer to another school.

B. IMPRESSIONS OF MS. BAKER'S CLASSROOM

Ms. Baker, who is white, expressed conflicting personal views and feelings about desegregation. She used all of the right code words in regard to desegregation, but at the same time, she disliked the idea of busing students to school. She viewed desegregation as a real estate problem rather than a school problem. She resented the fact that children had to bear the brunt of the consequences--when desegregation was a choice made by adults. According to Ms. Baker, the education of children, and not social reform, is the classroom educator's business.

She maintained that her negative response to busing could be traced to the difficulties it presented for her in teaching. She said she did not mind "bus integration" per se; she realized that people need to work together. She was uncertain, however, if busing was the right means. She suggested that educational parks might be more in keeping with what people are seeking.

Prior to her present assignment at Jefferson Elementary, Ms. Baker had once taught in another minority school for 12 years. She felt that before desegregation began she could as well have been color blind. Now she was expected to be "color conscious" and aware of the diverse cultural heritages of the students. Having to take time out for cultural awareness interfered, in her opinion, with the cognitive growth of her students. This teacher was also observed to communicate differently with students depending on their sex, race, and individual level of academic achievement.

The district policy issues surrounding the desegregation of Jefferson Elementary were similar to those of La Cumbre School. Like La Cumbre, the school had initiated programs for the purpose of attracting white students. Jefferson had been designated a Fine Arts Magnet, and was also operating a Vanguard (MGM) Program sixth-grade classroom and a Headstart classroom. As a result of these

programs, the white population had increased from five percent the previous year to almost 20 percent at the time of the observations. Twenty of the 31 students enrolled at the beginning of the year were participating in the MGM Program.

The administrative staff at the school consisted of only one person--the principal, who was white. Of the eight classroom teachers, one was black and the other seven were white. Six aides and the child development teacher were black. Four aides were Mexican American.

At the beginning of the year, Ms. Baker's class had 23 black, three white, two Mexican American, and one Native American students. By November, the class composition had changed somewhat. Five black students had left the class, and one white and two Mexican American students had been added. Although Ms. Baker had an ethnically mixed class, she made no effort to introduce multicultural perspectives into the material. As mentioned above, she did not appear to appreciate the need to build on strengths of cultural diversity through the exploration of various cultures. Any multicultural instructional experience in this classroom was dependent on the materials available in the textbooks. It should also be noted that there was little friendly interaction between students of different races/ethnicities.

Ms. Baker believed that the racial composition of the student population affected the amount of training the teachers would receive. According to her, teachers in schools receiving minority students were given more training than teachers in schools receiving majority students. The school district did not provide Ms. Baker with any inservice directly related to the current desegregation effort.

The data offered no evidence of either a district or school disciplinary policy with an accompanying code of student conduct which specified student rights and responsibilities. Ms. Baker

appeared to have management (disciplinary) problems that may have been partially due to a lack of clear and concise rules. The teacher also showed a tendency toward inconsistent enforcement of the few classroom rules that did exist. She often threatened to apply certain sanctions without actually doing so.

Again, in Ms. Baker's classroom as in Mr. Williams', ability grouping was in effect. Standardized tests determined the placement of students in mathematics and reading. They also determined whether or not a student would be promoted to junior high school. There was no evidence of either lateral or vertical movement toward policy and procedural reforms within this classroom or school (see Figure 4-1, p.216).

The Vanguard (MGM) Program for high achievers was yet another instance of ability grouping practices in this school. Like the academic kindergarten at Mr. Williams' school, the MGM Program was another classic example of inschool segregation. Also, as at Mr. Williams' school, there were no inschool options available to minority students.

C. IMPRESSIONS OF MR. LEWIS' CLASSROOM

Mr. Lewis--in contrast to Ms. Baker, the other Anglo teacher--expressed unambivalent personal views and feelings about desegregation. He gave full, unqualified support to the desegregation effort occurring in his school. He was, in fact, critical of both district administrators and school staff because he felt they were not striving wholeheartedly toward multicultural goals. This teacher was vocal in expressing his views and quite sensitive to the fact that teachers hold different expectations for minority students' behavior than for that of their white counterparts, and thus, often treat minority students differently. Mr. Lewis was also aware of the fact that mere "body mixing," without some other changes and preparation of students and staff, has great potential for inter-personal and interinstitutional conflict.

If there were any criticism of Mr. Lewis' views, it would be that he was somewhat patronizing of minorities. On the surface he identified, even over-identified, with the problems faced by his minority students. He even claimed to have previously felt resentment toward white students for not being more sensitive to the plight of their black peers.

District policy had resulted in inconsistent practices at Hooper Elementary (Mr. Lewis' school), as at the other schools mentioned earlier. The cluster of schools to which both Hooper and La Cumbre schools belong offered a basic skills program to upper-grade minority students. This program was described in the district's ESAA Proposal as "a comprehensive program of basic skills in language arts and mathematics supported by a variety of mini-magnets."

At the same time, no special basic skills courses were being offered at Hooper at the time of the observations. The school was even lacking a resource teacher. Hooper was one of the predominantly white schools to which black students could transfer voluntarily for the opportunity to participate in a white instead of an all-black schooling environment. This voluntary transfer program

had brought about a more than ten percent increase in the number of minorities at this school (from nine percent the previous year to between 20 and 21 percent in 1978).

As regards the question of a multicultural perspective to the curriculum, a comparison with Ms. Baker's classroom is again informative. Both classrooms provide instances of white teachers teaching ethnically heterogeneous groups of students. In Mr. Lewis' classroom, 17 students were white, seven were black, and the rest of the 31 students were of diverse ethnic backgrounds. In contrast to Ms. Baker's classroom, however, a multicultural perspective permeated all aspects of Mr. Lewis' classroom. The content areas of reading, math, science, and social studies were tied together by an anthropological and interpersonal relations theme. He placed great emphasis on cross-cultural and interracial communication, nonverbal as well as verbal.

As mentioned previously, there was apparently no standard set by the district for evaluating racial and sexual bias in the curricular materials. There were indications in the data (both in the daily observations and in the interviews with the teacher) that Mr. Lewis, on the other hand, evaluated all of his materials for bias and stereotypes. Perhaps more important, he was attempting to help his students develop the skills for making their own assessments.

There were no data offering evidence that Mr. Lewis was involved in any formal or sustained staff development training at either the district or school level. There seemed to be no opportunity to deal with any issues occasioned by the desegregation process at Hooper Elementary.

No school student code of conduct was available for examination. At Hooper, as at the other schools, no clear idea of student rights and responsibilities was shared by students and staff. Mr. Lewis, however, had some very

definite ideas about discipline and student responsibilities in his classroom. He believed in letting students know exactly what he expected of them and what they could expect from him in return. He held all students strictly accountable for their behavior. He also informed students of the negative sanctions for certain behavior, and he was not adverse to paddling students if he felt it was called for. Otherwise, his classroom management system might be described as humanistic and advocacy-oriented.

Mr. Lewis' classroom was the only one in which there was little or no evidence of ability grouping. Testing was not relied on to any appreciable degree. Both lateral and vertical movement toward policy and procedural reform (see Figure 4-1, p. 216) were demonstrated in this classroom as students progressed academically.

On paper, a basic skills program was open to minority students in this school as an option to regular classroom learning. As alluded to earlier, however, this curriculum consisted of existing offerings only. Within Mr. Lewis' classroom, by contrast, there were a number of options open to all students.

D. IMPRESSIONS OF MS. GARCIA'S CLASSROOM

Ms. Garcia, who is Mexican American, appeared ambivalent in her personal views and feelings about desegregation. She did not want to see busing of students, but she accepted it as a necessity. The reason for her reluctance to accept busing was her commitment to the concept of the neighborhood school. Ms. Garcia also was of the opinion that adults set lower expectations in a desegregated setting for blacks and Mexican Americans than for Anglos. At the same time, she believed that desegregated education could be beneficial to all students if teachers operated differently in their classrooms. For desegregation to work, she said, teachers would have to develop positive relationships among students and among teachers, as well as between the two groups.

The district policy on desegregation had had only a small effect on Van De Camp Elementary, Ms. Garcia's school. The minority enrollment in the school had decreased from 82 percent in 1977 to 79 percent in 1978. Most of the students were Mexican Americans; however, Van De Camp was open to new majority student enrollment. The school had been designated as bilingual, and each grade had a bilingual class. An extended daycare facility operated from 7:45 a.m. to 5:45 p.m. and was open only to white enrollment.

Of the three administrative staff members at the school, two were white (the principal and the assistant principal) and one was Mexican American (the head teacher). The professional staff of the school were approximately 50 percent white and 50 percent Mexican American. There were also two black aides and one Japanese aide.

The ethnic composition of Ms. Garcia's classroom reflected that of the school--19 of Ms. Garcia's 29 students were Mexican American, four were black, two were white, one was black/white, one was Mexican/Puerto Rican, and one was Mexican/Asian. Ms. Garcia's classroom, then, was culturally and racially diversified.

The classroom was also bilingual--the language tutor, student teacher, and Ms. Garcia all gave instructions in Spanish as well as English. The Spanish bilingual program was conducted by the language tutor. Some Mexican was covered in this program, as well.

Despite the endemic cultural richness of her classroom, the teacher tended to downplay any possibility for a multicultural perspective to the curriculum. The teacher appeared to believe that it was better for the students' self confidence if ethnic differences were de-emphasized rather than pointed out. During the few times that the idea of ethnicity entered classroom discussion, Ms. Garcia stressed human commonalities.

There was no district inservice training for staff during the time of the observations, with the exception of one meeting with the district manager of the multicultural program. Ms. Garcia mentioned that there had been frequent instructional council meetings dealing with teachers' educational concerns. Also, many cluster meetings involving teachers had been held the previous year. Teachers were considered to have been prepared for multicultural education.

The previous year, the Bilingual Office had provided inservice training, but Ms. Garcia, as an experienced bilingual teacher, felt that it was not of a high enough caliber. Consequently, she was not very sanguine about services the district could provide for bilingual training. Ms. Garcia felt that the inservice needs of teachers could be better met if teachers were allowed to attend regional and national conferences.

Again, as at the other schools observed, student rights and responsibilities had not been codified. There was no evidence of a school student disciplinary policy or handbook. As observed elsewhere, rules were established at the classroom level only. The teacher described herself as a "strong disciplinarian."

She had established few but well-defined rules for her students to follow. Her classroom management system encouraged interaction and cooperation among students in the performance of their work. Ms. Garcia did, on occasion, lecture her class on topics such as their laziness in not completing homework. She showed differential treatment, reprimanding students by name for not doing their assignments. The purpose of this criticism, however, was clearly to communicate to students what she expected of them. Ms. Garcia also applied a point-reward system as a means of encouraging good behavior and the completion of work. To the extent that her practices emphasized cooperation and the importance of self worth, Ms. Garcia's approach might be described as humanistic.

There was evidence of ability grouping in this classroom and in the school. Data were not sufficient, however, for determining the rigidity of this grouping practice.

The bilingual program was the one inschool option available to minority students. As mentioned earlier, the extended daycare program was available only to whites. The basic skills program described in the district's ESAA Program consisted of the regular subject offerings.

PART III: COMPARATIVE CONCLUSIONS

It was assumed in the beginning of this report that leadership is the most important element in a successful desegregation process. The Valley City School District might, at a superficial glance, appear to be making an exemplary effort to desegregate its schools. In spite of the socioeconomic, cultural and geographic "distances" between the students, the district had managed to achieve the 80/20 percentage ratio of student desegregation required by law.

Yet the real "leadership message" to students, teachers, and the community was quite different. The district was more interested in carrying out the minimum letter of the law than in providing equal opportunity and access. The district's main concern appeared to be to cause the least possible discomfort to whites. This lack of commitment to the goals of multicultural education and integration was reflected in several classroom practices of the teachers observed.

Teachers' personal views and feelings about desegregation covered a wide spectrum. One teacher appeared to oppose busing to achieve desegregation, one was ambivalent, and two were committed to it. The teachers varied also in the way they expressed their feelings. They emphasized or ignored cultural differences, for example.

The inclusion of a multicultural perspective to the curriculum was, then, left to the voluntary choice of the teacher. The district's Multicultural Activities Report makes enabling statements without establishing specific goals and objectives. No requirements or time frame are given in the report so that teachers might know what they are expected to achieve by the end of the year.

There were no district guidelines for staff to follow in evaluating textbooks and other materials for racial and sexual bias. Therefore, it was left to each

teacher's discretion to either criticize or ignore biased points of view presented in the materials. If the teacher himself or herself was biased, then the teacher's and the textbook's bias might mutually confirm one another. The absence of guidelines also allowed for inconsistencies in bias--a teacher might notice bias toward one group of individuals but not toward others, for instance. One of the teachers observed in this study (Ms. Garcia) showed no racial bias, but she did have different role expectations for men and women, which she conveyed on several occasions to her students.

There was apparently little inservice training specifically geared to the problems of desegregating schools. When interviewed, the teachers indicated that the available inservice did not relate directly to whatever problems they experienced as a result of desegregation. Nor did they feel that inservice addressed the impact of desegregation upon the student body and the school as a whole. All of the teachers, however, maintained that they had the skills to teach in multiethnic classrooms.

The inservice the district provided did not seem to encourage teachers' active participation to any great extent. This lack of teacher participation could be considered a loss to both the district and to the teachers. Inservice activities did not utilize the strengths of internal resources. The teachers observed in this study demonstrated definite skills that might be shared with colleagues. Mr. Lewis, for example, had developed curricular materials and training activities that might be beneficial to district personnel.

No disciplinary policies or student handbooks delineating student rights and responsibilities were in evidence, either at the district or at the school level. None were used or referred to by the teachers.

Tremendous latitude was allowed the teachers in discipline and classroom management. Mr. Williams more often scolded than praised students. His punish-

ments for misbehavior were various--reprimanding, keeping students after school, and paddling. Ms. Baker threatened sanctions for certain behavior, and frequently sent students to the adjustment teacher. She also applied behavior modification techniques in her classroom. Mr. Lewis' main concern appeared to be to control the quality of students' interactions. He used corporal punishment as the ultimate defense of students' rights. Ms. Garcia used a point-reward system and contracting. Students would be denied rewards, such as class outings, for not having accrued the necessary number of points.

These teachers did not seem to realize the implications of their disciplinary practices. No one asked, for instance, whether harsh or mildly negative sanctions might be more appropriate with minority students. Ethnographers noted that two teachers manifested a subtle favoritism toward girls, and all teachers disciplined certain students very frequently and paid little attention to others. All four teachers lacked some degree of self awareness here, at least to the extent of understanding why they showed favoritism.

Standardized tests for classification and placement of students were used extensively throughout the district. One of the most obvious forms of ability grouping was the academic kindergarten, reserved for students who met the specified criteria. The advantages of the more privileged students were being perpetuated through the vacancies allotted to majority students (83 percent). Ability grouping and the "whites only" admittance to school programs might lead to future problems in desegregating schools. The implications of this "closed door policy" have not been considered. Two questions that may sooner or later have to be faced are: How are minority students' self perceptions affected by token desegregation? Does token desegregation encourage among students feelings of alienation from the school?

Finally, the district's cost saving measure of assigning principals to more than one building could have had only a detrimental effect on school leadership. These split assignments revealed, once again, that the district did not understand the complex needs of desegregating schools. A principal could not devote his/her full attention to the particular problems of a desegregating school.

PART IV: RECOMMENDATIONS

The policy issues identified in the preceding sections of this report were not intended to be all-inclusive. Rather, they were considered because of their typicality: these are the issues most frequently mentioned in the literature on desegregation. Many of the problems discussed above may be found in schools and school districts across the country. Although problems do in fact differ from school to school and from place to place, numerous parallels and similarities can be recognized. Several of the recommendations offered below to the Valley City School District might easily be applied to other school districts.

There is an obvious reason for the applicability of these recommendations to other contexts. No matter where desegregation takes place, as American history has shown us over the last 20 years, desegregation concerns and affects the entire community in which it occurs.

The overall recommendation, implied by all of the specific recommendations detailed below, is that the school district must recognize that "you cannot change the whole by changing only the parts." A school environment is a gestalt--a social system comprised of many interrelationships. A comprehensive program for desegregation and integration will attempt to modify the nature and quality of these interrelationships. The recommendations offered here cover the primary components--teacher training, multicultural curriculum, and district policy--that need to be coordinated by any school district attempting real change.

In addition to recognizing the complexity of the desegregation process, school districts should encourage active participation and cooperation among all those involved in desegregation. This recommendation is also implied by the specific recommendations to follow. It is one of my basic assumptions that the best way to change how people interrelate is to encourage them to do it themselves.

Specific Recommendations

There are several recommendations to enhance leadership capabilities in desegregating districts. First, it is recommended that a specific person(s) be identified as responsible for the district's desegregation efforts and coordination. Roles and role relationships, responsibilities, and lines of authority and communication should be clearly articulated for all persons in official capacity. Leadership direction is a requisite for systematic change. The data on Valley City indicate that caution prevailed as the leadership strategy.

Second, the district should publicly show its commitment to desegregation. It should make a special effort to ensure that the burden and the advantages of desegregation are shared by all. The district should also require that the principal in a desegregating school devote full time to the management of that school.

Third, desegregating school districts should analyze their policies. Policy revisions or modifications are always necessary when a district begins to desegregate. The degree of congruency between the stated intent of policies and their application through district practices and procedures should also be scrutinized. The Program for Educational Opportunity has developed a model that can be used to assess the extent of educational opportunity available in a district. This model can also be used to train district members to analyze policies for legal and educational soundness.

There are several approaches districts should take to staff development and inservice training. The school district should require that student teachers and new staff have some experience in desegregated settings prior to coming into the district. Because most teachers and school staff will be majority group members, it is imperative that they be familiar with minority students' needs and expectations. In predominantly white schools, this is especially important since minority students will be outnumbered by majority students as well as staff.

Requiring that the teachers have some experience in working with minorities will help all students make the transition to integration.

As the Gerard and Miller analysis (1975) of the Mercer Survey indicated, districts do not provide opportunities for staff involvement in the development of inservice training. The district and schools should encourage this involvement so that staff can claim some ownership in these programs. Staff should be involved in the planning, implementation, and evaluation of programs. A first step in this process would be systematic identification of problems to be addressed by the inservice. Much of the training should be based on issues identified by staff through comprehensive methods of identifying problems, such as needs assessments.

Because desegregation/integration affects all aspects of school operations, inservice training should also be given to administrators, curriculum developers, counselors, school social workers and coaches, as well as teachers. The district should systematically identify areas of expertise and interest among school staff. These staff members could be engaged as resource persons for staff development activities.

A "resource tank" of district personnel could also be created. These personnel could be called upon to share their experiences and expertise in a number of areas relating to desegregation/integration.

The district should require the training of all staff and students in the evaluation of textbooks and instructional materials for racial and sexual bias. Numerous projects have reviewed materials for racism and sexism. According to the Council on Interracial Books for Children, the instrument used to evaluate books should also be helpful as a consciousness-raising and teaching tool. Because truly bias-free textbooks are still not available, the need for evaluating texts still exists. Students should develop the necessary skills

so that they can perceive stereotypes and bias in the media, their reading, and personal encounters. In order to teach students this skill, teachers will have to be given special training in both their preservice and inservice education.

By itself, learning to evaluate bias is not the answer. If students are continually exposed to a monocultural curriculum, we cannot expect that they will be able to recognize and appreciate cultural diversity. The following recommendations address issues relevant to multicultural educational goals.

The district should work with teacher-training institutions to develop programs that will accurately address the issues of desegregation and integration. There need to be radical structural and content changes in both pre-and inservice education for all school personnel. Models that incorporate the resources of teacher centers, training academies, and other non-traditional continuing education delivery systems must become the rule rather than the exception if we are to prepare educators capable of functioning effectively in desegregated schools.

The district and teacher-training institutions should also collaboratively develop programs to train staff in the rationale for, and philosophy and methodology of multicultural education. Schools of education, in the main, do not attend to the multicultural needs of the school districts employing their graduates. Districts should demand that schools of education emphasize multicultural training in their teacher education programs. A number of colleges across the country have developed praiseworthy teacher-training models in this area. Two that are worth noting are: the CHCALT model of the Institute for Cultural Pluralism at San Diego State University, and Prentice Baptiste's model at the University of Houston. The

School of Education at the University of Michigan was forced to face the multicultural needs of the Ann Arbor Public Schools when in 1971 a Humaneness in Education document was issued, stating:

Before teachers and administrators are hired or reach tenure, they must have had a prescribed amount of academic preparation and experience in minority history and culture. It should also be stipulated that teachers and staff at maximum tenure should take inservice training or university courses of study in minority history and culture as a basis for continued employment. This should be included in the contract and master agreement.

The same requirements were articulated to the School of Education for its student teacher placements. From these requirements came a multicultural education program.

The data available to me on the Valley City School District indicated that the inclusion of a multicultural perspective was strictly voluntary. The district might study the Evaluation Guidelines for Multicultural/Multiracial Education of the National Study of School Education. By applying these guidelines, the district could make a more definitive identification of its multicultural needs. Development of training programs at the school and district levels would be facilitated by this effort.

As indicated by two of the teachers interviewed, teachers often do not choose to incorporate a multicultural perspective into the curriculum. Inservice training might demonstrate to teachers that they need not relinquish any of their teaching goals. They should be shown that multicultural perspectives can add a new dimension to classroom experience.

In the MESE study, four different teachers in four different kinds of classrooms were observed. Each teacher showed a unique classroom style, and each group of students was unique. (And the possible combinations of teachers, classroom styles, and students are infinite.) Yet only rarely did the teachers analyze whether their approach might be at all disadvantageous, whether another, completely different approach might work just as well, or whether there might

be any sense to switching between different approaches. Teacher-training could show a teacher that alternatives can be incorporated into his/her own style or approach without altering the unique character of that approach. The district should train staff, for example, in the use of alternatives to ability grouping as a means of instruction. This is an area in which viable alternatives have been identified and are in urgent need of being implemented.

In the area of student rights and responsibilities, clear policies and consistent application are needed. This district should develop and publish a set of disciplinary policies and a handbook.

In a recent report, Fulfilling the Letter and Spirit of the Law, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights concluded that:

A peaceful transition from segregation to desegregation is not the end but only the beginning. Successful desegregation requires continued monitoring, evaluation, and periodic review and sometimes the revision of the original plan. School officials and community people must deal with certain "second generation" problems that may jeopardize the goal of desegregation. These problems include . . . inequitable discipline procedures

According to a recent Gallup Poll of the public's views on education, published in the Kappan, discipline has been rated as one issue of concern for parents and educators over the past several years.

Until recently, little attention had been given to disproportionate minority discipline as a second generation problem. The Project for Fair Administration of Student Discipline has identified some of the possible causes for this disproportionate incidence of disciplinary action:

1. Lack of clearly and concisely written codes of conduct
2. Poor record-keeping systems
3. Lack of knowledge and/or skills in investigating incidents
4. Lack of knowledge and/or skills in conducting hearings

5. Lack of knowledge on how to insure due process for students
6. Lack of knowledge concerning the legal issues of students' rights
7. Lack of skills in cross-cultural communication
8. Adults reacting differently to students of different races exhibiting the same type of behavior.
9. Great discretion given to adults in meting out discipline.

Each of these have broad implications for teacher training, as well as for parent and student training.

The four classrooms studied displayed a wide range of adult behavior and discretion in classroom management and discipline. No clearly defined codes of conduct had been provided for the students by either the school or the district. It may be that Valley City will soon encounter second generation problems, placing the district further away from successful integration.

Finally, the district should develop and implement a program for systematically and regularly analyzing policies, practices, and procedures. Any analysis of needs should include input from minority and majority students, teachers, and community. Valley City has taken some steps toward desegregation/ integration, but administrative initiative toward the suggested improvements is required if the objectives of equal educational opportunity are to be realized.

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